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A Week of Tremendous Events

Not in a long time has any week of American history produced so much good news as the one ending November 8. The week began with the Moscow agreements and concluded with the adoption by the Senate of the revised form of the Connally resolution, repeating practically word for word the most important section of the understanding at Moscow regarding post-war coöperation. In between came the settlement of the coal strike, which, if it had continued much longer, would have seriously crippled our war effort. The news from the fighting fronts was also amazingly good; best of all, as usual, was that in Russia. Kiev fell to the Red Army, virtually breaking in two the German central front and opening the way for a drive into Poland. In the far South, on the shore of the Black Sea, the Russians bypassed the Crimea and, plunging ahead with a speed equal to that of the first German thrust into Russian territory, advanced toward Odessa and the Rumanian frontier. How many Germans are trapped in the Crimea, facing capture unless they can get away by sea, is not known, but the number must be very large, perhaps a hundred thousand.

Italy and the Orient

While the battle in Italy does not compare in size with that in Russia, it is nevertheless one of strategic importance. Here the British and American forces are doing well against a stubborn resistance which, however, at the end of the week seemed to be crumbling. The aerial bombing of Germany and her satellites from British and Italian bases goes on remorselessly and is undoubtedly doing the Germans great damage. The best Allied military sources now believe that Germany has no important reserve of airplanes which she is saving for some later occasion. They say if she had such a reserve she would have used it long ago—for example, at El Alamein, where another 400 or 500 planes would probably have given her the battle, and with it, Alexandria and Cairo.

In the Oriental theatre, the news last week was also good. President Roosevelt announced that plans have been completed for a land attack on Japan by Chinese, American and British forces. Over the week-end, a great naval battle was beginning, as the Japs sent a series of convoys from Truk, presumably toward Rabaul. In the first stages of this battle the Americans succeeded in sinking or damaging several Japanese warships without serious loss on our side. There is now plenty of evidence that the Japanese are getting badly frightened about the way the war is going.

The Senate Takes Its Stand

The Moscow Conference, whose magnificent results we discuss in detail elsewhere, bore its first fruits in the United States Senate. If the conference had not taken place, or had ended in disappointment, the Senate would certainly have adopted the first form of the Connally resolution, such a mild expression of good will toward post-war coöperation that almost any isolationist could have voted for it—and most of them intended to. But the Moscow results changed the whole moral atmosphere, at once and sharply. As a result, the final form of the resolution, as adopted, quoted from the Moscow agreement and said that the Senate

> recognizes the necessity of there being established at the earliest practical date a general international organization,

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based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The preceding paragraph recommends that

the United States, acting through its constitutional processes, join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world.

If this resolution is less strong than the most ardent interventionists would wish, it is certainly a good deal stronger than the isolationists desired, although only six of them were brave enough to vote no or to indicate that although absent they would have voted no. It is legitimate to say that there is now far less danger than formerly that the United States will do again what it did in 1920 and turn its back on the world. Psychologically, there is an enormous difference between an agreement endorsed in advance by the Senate and (through the Fulbright resolution) by the House, and a treaty negotiated by the executive branch, when no one knows definitely how Congress will respond to it. It is no exaggeration to say that, despite all the difficulties that still lie ahead, last week's actions by the Moscow Conference and by the Senate have swung open the portals on a new world.

After the Coal Settlement

The settlement of the coal strike shows what happens when an irresistible force meets a supposedly immovable body. The irresistible force was the widespread feeling among the miners that their wages were being held down unfairly; the supposedly immovable body was the desire of the War Labor Board, and the administration, to hold the line on wages in order to avoid the beginnings of a serious general inflation. John L. Lewis is a formidable antagonist; but the miners would never have stuck behind him as they did unless they felt they had a real and most serious grievance. The country had to have coal; it can't be dug

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with bayonets, as Mr. Lewis is fond of saying; and there you have it. Technically, the increase does not violate the Little Steel formula; the miners get $1.50 more for working an extra hour, fifteen minutes of which is subtracted from their thirty-minute lunch period. Men who work by the ton and not by the day are to be remunerated on a similar scale. The country goes a step further toward portal-to-portal pay; we have been the only important civilized country in the world that has not paid its men for all time underground, or has permitted more than eight hours in the mine.

The End of Little Steel

But while in theory the Little Steel formula remains intact, in practice it has had a body blow. Already the railway men and the steel workers are asking for more money, with every probability that they will get it. The plain fact, indirectly admitted by WLB chairman William H. Davis in his letter to Vice President Wallace, is that the country has discriminated against organized labor. Wages have been held down; farm prices have not; retail prices have not, especially on the black markets; profits have not. For this Congress, and Congress alone, is to blame. It would not give the OPA enough money for enforcement. It would not vote sufficiently high taxes to sop up the excess buying power. It would not subject the prices on the farm to the same controls that were put into effect elsewhere. The result has been that labor, which on the whole has been amazingly successful in maintaining its pledge not to strike, has taken it on the chin. But that period is now over. The laboring man sees the farmer with a tremendous increase in his cash income, though admittedly he has hardships with which to cope. The worker also sees fat profits being made (and hidden away) by industry, even after taxes have been paid. He is going to demand equality of treatment for himself. Whether or not wages can be increased somewhat and the inflationary spiral then halted again, remains to be seen. It will take all our skill, and more intelligence and backbone than Congress has yet displayed, to get successfully around this bad corner.

Mr. Krock and Mr. Hull

Mr. Arthur Krock of The New York Times, one of the warmest admirers of Secretary Hull, has lately used the Secretary's participation in the highly successful Moscow Conference as a club with which to beat those who have criticized Mr. Hull in the past. Mr. Krock appears to feel that what happened in Moscow shows that all critics of the State Department for the past few years have been wrong and should be ashamed of themselves.

We have no desire to withhold from Mr. Hull any of the credit that is due him. He acted courageously in undertaking the trip to Moscow, in view of his age and

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physical condition. While we do not know exactly what role he played there, any more than does Mr. Krock or any other journalist, we are willing to concede that it was a good one. One should not, however, lose all grip on common sense. For a long time Mr. Hull has been defended on the argument that whatever has been wrong with the State Department was really Mr. Roosevelt's fault. It is perfectly clear that the President must also have played an important part in bringing about the good results at Moscow. For that matter, so did Mr. Churchill.

But even if you assume that Mr. Hull deserves the major share of the credit for America's role in the meeting, we still do not see why that invalidates previous criticism of State Department policy. For years, we urged Mr. Hull to take a given course of action; for years, he took another. Now he makes a sudden and dramatic switch and adopts the policy we have all along recommended. Thereupon we are told this proves that we were wrong before. On the contrary, it proves that we were right before and that Mr. Hull at last agrees. We welcome him as a tardy comer to the fold but we refuse to admit that because he is tardy the fold should never have existed.

Famine in India

Another chapter has been added to the tragic history of British India. In the province of Bengal alone, many thousands of men, women and children are reported to be dying of starvation every week. Although famine has been a constant feature of Indian history, the present crisis has grown directly out of the circumstances of the war. The loss of Burma—source of a significant amount of the rice consumed by India's northern provinces—and the shipping shortage are immediate causes, but the failure of the British government to act in the face of food shortages that were apparent as early as April, 1942, must be underlined. Apart from humanitarian considerations, immediate remedial action is necessary to sustain India's vitally important industrial output and civilian and military morale, particularly in the northern provinces where United Nations troops are poised to move against the Japanese in Burma. Since India is unable to help herself in any large degree, it is up to the other United Nations who are in a position to do so to find ways and means of rushing food and medicine to stem the rising tide of famine. The shipping shortage is the problem of the governments of the United Nations, but funds for relief are the responsibility of private citizens as well. We are happy to see that the CIO at its convention last week made an initial contribution of $100,000.

An Amazing Appointment

The most amazing appointment made in Washington in a long time is that of Scott Russell as counsel to the Senate Post-War Planning Committee. On the record, Mr. Russell, president of the Bibb Manufacturing Company, a huge Southern textile concern, looks like a thoroughgoing reactionary. He has been a bitter opponent of the renegotiation of war contracts in the textile field; his motto has seemed to be, let any company with a contract make any profit, no matter how large, rather than change the original terms. When the experts said that rayon made better automobile-tire cord than cotton, Mr. Russell fought desperately to have cotton continued, apparently for the reason that his company was in that business. He didn't withdraw his objection until his firm had received a fat contract for rayon cord. Finally, he is a strong opponent of OPA rent-control regulations; the Bibb Company operates a village for its employees. To make a man with a background like this adviser to a post-war-planning committee is to make pretty much a laughing stock of the whole business. We suspect that maybe the Senate, which doesn't care much for planning anyhow, never had any other idea.

The Promise of Moscow

THE TRUE SIGNIFICANCE of the Moscow Conference can be appreciated only if we compare it with the means of organizing the world adopted after the First World War. In 1918 the powers fighting Germany were united only for the purpose of winning military victory. While there had been much advance discussion of the shape of the peace, nothing was settled when the Armistice came. Then the victors assembled in conference, and spent months bickering among themselves before they arrived at a conclusion, which was a diplomatic compromise satisfactory to no one. It was embodied mainly in two documents—the treaty with Germany and the Covenant of the League of Nations. Having written the documents, the Versailles conference adjourned *sine die* and the delegates went home. In the end the United States adhered to neither of them, making its own peace treaty with Germany and repudiating the League.

This time the peace conference assembled before the war was won. It was simultaneously concerned with winning both the war and the peace: both were conceived as part of a continuous process. The conferees were few, and represented those great powers having overwhelming preponderance of military and economic potential. They did not try to settle everything at once, but within twelve days developed complete unanimity on fundamentals. Important as were the declarations agreed upon, nobody conceived the essence of the affair as residing in pieces of paper; it lay in the cementing of a permanent concert and in provisions for a developing process. There is nothing to be ratified and hence nothing to be rejected, unless we regard ratification as consisting in the almost unanimous

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approval of the peoples in the anti-Axis nations and a vote of 85 to 5 by the United States Senate. The delegates went home, but only after establishing agencies of collaboration and agreeing to meet again if necessary. Appreciation of this stupendous success for common sense accounts largely for the lift which the conference gave to the spirits of the peoples of the United Nations: courageous and effective leadership has inspired in us a sense of security which must be the main ingredient of a healthy world.

The Meaning of the Documents.—It is worth while to examine in some detail the texts of the documents issued, which say much in a few words, and which imply much more than they say. They are five in number: a Joint Communiqué of the Tripartite Conference, a Joint Four-Nation Declaration, A Declaration Regarding Italy, a Declaration on Austria and a Statement on Atrocities.

The first interesting fact about the Joint Communiqué is that it comes from a Tripartite Conference. In other words, China was not represented in the council room. The list of the delegates confirms this interpretation. China is, however, a signer of the Four-Nation Declaration, "in which the Chinese government joined during the conference." This was probably a stratagem to avoid any embarrassment to Russia, since she is not at war with Japan and we do not wish her to be for the time being. Yet it implies that there is left important work to be done in dealing with the Far East.

After listing the participants in the conference—who included the foreign secretaries, representatives of the General Staffs, the ambassadors, trade delegates and experts—the communiqué begins with the significant if rather vague sentence, "The agenda included all questions submitted for discussion by the three governments." This certainly means that nobody objected to discussing any question which any other delegation thought worth submitting. It probably also means that one or two subjects which might have led to dispute were not introduced at all—for instance, it is likely that Secretary Hull wisely decided to regard Russia's absorption of the Baltic States as a *fait accompli*. Yet the possibility is not excluded that even these subjects were treated in such a way that no harm to cordial relations was done. In either case, one of the big talking points of those in this country and the Axis who wanted to cultivate an American-Soviet rift has been erased.

The communiqué continues with a statement as to the manner of dealing with the questions. "Some of the questions called for final decisions, and these were taken. On other questions, after discussion, decisions of principle were taken." In other words, where an immediate decision was not necessary, and more time was required to explore the subject, the delegates agreed on the principles involved, and either referred the subjects to "commissions specially set up for the purpose" or reserved them for treatment "through diplomatic channels." Again, "other questions were disposed of by an exchange of views." The sentence seems to indicate a general clearing up of possible causes of suspicion and an establishment of personal friendship and confidence, since it is immediately followed by the comment that although close coöperation has previously existed in matters concerned with the common war effort, this is the first time that the foreign secretaries have met in conference. In other words, it is a good thing that Mr. Hull, Mr. Eden and Mr. Molotov have put their feet under the same table and learned to talk with one another.

From all this we are left to infer that such questions as the future of Germany, boundary issues, questions of European organization, post-war economic agencies and the like, were settled in principle though perhaps not in detail, and that work on them is continuing. Obviously the Four-Nation Declaration is one of the things settled in principle, but to be elaborated later. It is also morally certain that not all the decisions taken were announced, since some of them are military secrets and for others the time is not ripe politically.

The first subjects discussed were "the measures to be taken to shorten the war against Germany and her satellites in Europe." We may be sure that these included more than the second front. The subsequent Declaration on Austria gives one hint of this, as well as the current conversations between the Foreign Minister of Turkey and Mr. Eden. The presence of military advisers permitted discussion of "definite military operations with regard to which decisions had been taken and which are already being prepared in order to create a basis for the closest military coöperation in the future." This is pregnant language, meaning in part that the second front in Western Europe is no longer a subject of disagreement, that Great Britain and the United States did not need to alter any previous plans to satisfy Russia, and that questions of timing and others involving coöperation are jointly understood.

The second subject was the importance of continuing the four-power alliance into the peace, dealt with in a separate declaration. Then comes the announcement of the European advisory commission to sit in London, and the advisory council on Italy, to contain a representative of the French Committee of National Liberation, and later of Greece and Yugoslavia.

The heart of the documents is, of course, the Four-Nation Declaration. The preamble refers to the United Nations, reaffirms the demand for unconditional surrender and expresses an interest in maintaining peace and security "with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armament." Then follow the seven points. The first promises post-war continuation of the present united action by the Big

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Four, for the organization of peace and security. Here already is the "nuclear alliance" so much discussed as the cornerstone of future world government. The second and third pledge unity of action in relation to surrender, disarmament of common enemies and enforcement of the terms imposed. The fourth is the famous one incorporated in the Senate resolution, recognizing the necessity of establishing "at the earliest practicable date" a general world organization on the basis of equality of all "peace-loving" states and open to all such, large and small. This is the new world government of which the four powers are to be the nucleus. But time is allowed for working it out. That time will be necessary is recognized by the fifth point, promising that pending the general organization of peace and security they will consult with one another and "as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations." This establishes the principle of trusteeship, with the desired flexibility. Unilateral armed intervention after the war is renounced by point six, and regulation of amendments by general consent is promised by point seven.

The declaration regarding Italy places the signatories definitely on record for the complete destruction of fascism and the establishment of democracy and civil rights. The United States and Britain assert that this has always been their purpose, but in spite of this face-saving clause, the declaration ought to do wonders in raising the spirits of European democrats and enhancing the prestige of the Allies, which has suffered much from the interpretations hitherto placed on measures of expediency.

The Declaration on Austria declares null and void the *Anschluss*, promises a free Austria, refers to the benefit of that change not only to the Austrian people but to "those neighboring states which will be faced with similar problems," and reminds Austria of her war responsibilities and her chance for atonement according as she contributes to her own liberation. This hints at military and political moves at Germany's back door. It also may foreshadow some sort of federation in Southeastern Europe.

Finally comes the Statement on Atrocities, pledging the return, for judgment and punishment, of those guilty to the countries which were the scene of their crimes. It is obviously hoped by this warning to prevent more of the same kind as the Germans lose their grip on the occupied countries.

Who Won the Conference? – There has been a good deal of discussion concerning relative victories and concessions at the Moscow Conference. By some it has been called a great triumph for Secretary Hull, by others a victory for the Russian point of view over the conservative Churchill and our State Department appeasers. To us it seems that such comments are a great oversimplification. There never was any chance that Russia would make a separate peace; she was pledged not to do so in her adherence to the United Nations and her treaty with Britain; she had nothing to gain by making terms with an unregenerate Germany. And it has been evident for a long time that the last thing she wanted was post-war European disturbance of any kind, least of all one promoted by intrigue of her own in opposition to the influence of the Western Powers. On the other hand, it is certain that we had long ago decided to open a western front, and we satisfied Russia without making any concessions on that score. It may have been a result of Russian insistence that the specific declaration on Italy was made, as a symbol of democratic and anti-fascist intentions everywhere in Europe. But if Mr. Hull and Mr. Churchill made any concessions here, they were merely doing what was in the best interests of their own nations, and what they should have done long ago. Indeed, they were permitted to say that this had previously been their intention.

The real victors were all concerned, as representatives of the anti-Nazi and peace-loving peoples of the world. Inexorable forces compelled the delegates to place above all else the common fate of their nations, the need of cementing their unity now and continuing it in the future, and the desirability of a general world organization. In accepting this necessity nobody made a sacrifice of his true interest; the only losers are the enemies of humanity.

What the Elections Proved

POLITICAL WISEACRES are saying that this year's November elections prove that the Republicans will win the presidential race in 1944. It is certainly true that the contests in a number of Eastern states were a serious setback for the Democrats. The Republicans were overwhelmingly successful in the elections for Lieutenant-Governor in New York, Governor in New Jersey and for Mayor in Philadelphia and a number of other cities, notably in Connecticut, Ohio and Michigan. Organized labor got licked in several elections, especially in New York State, Philadelphia and Detroit. The Democrats lost Kentucky, one of their traditional strongholds. Republican Governors are now in office in more than half the states and there are Republican state legislatures in a still larger number. In fact, outside the Solid South the Democrats are in command in only one of the well populated states—Indiana.

Certainly it is possible that the Republicans will win next year's presidential election. It is even more possible that they will get control of both Houses of Congress where, with the aid of conservative Democrats, they are already able to thwart the President on many

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issues. Nevertheless, Democratic politicians do not by any means admit that defeat is inevitable. First of all, they point out that the magic name of President Roosevelt himself did not appear on the ballots. They recognize that there is some resentment against the administration on the score of wartime restrictions, but say this resentment may not exist, or may be ameliorated, by November of next year.

Another item of great importance is the status of the war by next November. It is commonly said that if the war were over, this would hurt the President's chances of reëlection, and some of the polls seem to support that view. But this is not necessarily the case: the country might feel that it wanted a man of Mr. Roosevelt's caliber at the peace conference and might also argue that he could not go to the conference effectively except as President. In any case, how the war is going one year hence will certainly be an element in the election campaign so powerful as to make prophecy at this time more than ever dangerous.

Returning to this year's elections, we should note that John L. Lewis made a special effort to take advantage of the workers' irritation for the benefit of the Republican Party. In western Pennsylvania and in Kentucky particularly, Lewis' United Mine Workers lieutenants took out their anger at the President's past refusal to allow their wage demands by throwing to the Republicans as big a vote as they could. The switched miner vote, plus the quarter-million voters who, the Census Bureau estimates, have left the state since 1941, might amount to almost enough to account for the Kentucky gubernatorial result.

In Uniontown, Pennsylvania, for example, it was reported that UMW officials distributed circulars urging the miners to "Vote Republican." "Fellow miners," they said, "it's time to protest. For eight long months the WLB has held up our wage raises while the cost of living has gone up. . . . Let us protest now and show them we are free Americans. The way to protest is to vote Republican."

Democratic National Chairman Frank Walker quite conventionally contended that there was "no national political trend whatsoever in Tuesday's results." Walker insisted that the Roosevelt administration "did not take part in a single contest," a peculiar admission for a party chairman to make. Walker and the other chief Democrats say that naturally they would have been very happy if the Democrats had won by a landslide, but that they do not view these results as the end of the world for the Democratic Party. Republican trend or no Republican trend, they say that Franklin Roosevelt has upset "trends" before and he can do it again. In their opinion, the crucial New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Kentucky campaigns centered around state and local issues which do not relate to national political preferences necessarily.

The Republicans, quite naturally, took just the opposite view. The Republican leader of the House, Rep. Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts, said flatly that the results could mean only one thing, "a change of administration in 1944." Jim Farley, whose political affiliation at this point is not altogether clear, wryly told the press that the American people are "a bit tired of being kicked around. It is apparent that they are still dissatisfied for any one of a number of reasons and that they have recorded their dissatisfaction." Farley added that 1944 will be the "most important election year we have ever had."

There are two outstanding lessons from the election. The first is that labor and the liberals can never hope to win important victories at the polls unless and until they are willing to learn the techniques of the professional politicians. Well meant efforts the last few weeks or days before the election takes place are ineffective against the machines which work at the job the whole year round. You also need money; the professionals have plenty, and they know how to use it.

The second point is that if President Roosevelt hopes to be reëlected or to see a Democrat succeed him in office, he will need to woo labor and the liberals a good deal more vigorously than he has done in the recent past. Labor on the whole is still for the President, despite the attitude of the coal miners and a few other groups. But it is one thing to feel in a lackadaisical way that Mr. Roosevelt is the lesser of two evils, and it is quite another to support his candidacy, or that of the man of his choice, with a burning enthusiasm which makes it no hardship to put in months of effort and contribute heavily to campaign funds. Organized labor and the liberals combined are only a minority in most parts of the country; but in a number of crucial Northern states they are a minority which holds the balance of power. In short, the Democrats cannot hope to win except as the New Deal party.

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Japan's Puppet Empire

In the middle of 1942 Lieutenant Colonel Tsukasa Kato, chief of the Military Affairs Committee of the Japanese War Ministry, informing Japan's one-party Diet on imperial policy in the recently occupied territories of southeastern Asia, declared: "It is imperative that all measures necessary for Japan's own existence should be carried out resolutely. Too much consideration shown for the inhabitants might engender in their minds the tendency to presume on Japan's kindness with pernicious effects on Japanese rule." This statement was made in the heyday of Japan's military successes and territorial conquests. A new, sprawling empire lay at her feet. Japanese puppets ruled in Manchukuo, Nanking China, Vichy-French Indo-China and Thailand. The Philippine Islands, British Malaya, Burma, the Netherlands East Indies and a number of smaller European possessions had been added in short order to the empire of the Rising Sun. Japanese military and naval operations in the Arctic and in the South Seas had not as yet encountered any serious reverses. Japan's dream of undisputed hegemony in the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" had come to fulfilment. The rapid collapse of European and American power had vindicated at last the Nipponese claim for mastery of the Far East. Japan could afford strong words.

A year later the situation had changed considerably. The German failure at Stalingrad, the unheroic demise of Mussolini, naval and military defeats in Alaska and in the South Pacific, and the passing of the initiative in general from the Axis to the Allied powers, were ominous signs of impending disaster. They were a warning to the rulers of Japan that the preservation of their ephemeral empire, if possible at all, will to a large extent depend on the good will and voluntary coöperation of the subjugated peoples, or at least their native rulers. Persuasion and flattery took the place of threats and intimidations. Characteristic of the new policy is an open letter recently broadcast over the Manila radio by Colonel A. Nagahama, chief of the Japanese military police in the Philippines. It was addressed to the Filipino guerrilla forces still hiding in the jungles and mountains of the islands. Appealing to these patriots as "friends, nay, brothers," the letter promised: "I offer you freedom and life, the chance to return to your homes, your families, your wives and children, your mothers, and a chance to join the rest of your countrymen in enjoying the fruits of independence now around the corner for your Philippines. . . . Upon my word of honor I guarantee 100 percent that your life and the lives of all your followers will be spared and safeguarded if you lay down your arms. . . . I swear to God I will be true to my word and this pledge."

The Japanese are obviously facing a serious dilemma in their imperial policy. On the one hand, they have adopted a soft colonial policy intended to obtain native support in defense of the empire in the event of the return of the Western powers. On the other hand, however, the successful prosecution of the war depends to a considerable degree on the speed with which the newly conquered areas can be exploited as sources of vital raw materials for Japan's war industry. But the resultant dislocation of the local economies in the respective countries gravely interferes with the Japanese attempt politically to win over the subject peoples. Moreover, the ultimate objective of Japan's imperial policy, the complete political and economic enslavement of the conquered territories and their population for the benefit of the Asiatic master race, has remained unaltered. Only the exigencies of war have forced the Japanese to soft-pedal their real intentions.

The Japanese betray their anxiety for the stability of their empire by the hurry with which they are putting the new, soft policy of dealing with their subject peoples into effect. "Independence" was granted to Burma on August 1 and to the Philippines on October 14, 1943. Steps are now being taken to speed up "self-government" in British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. In early October provincial and municipal councils were created in Malaya which, according to Japanese propaganda broadcasts, are "entirely composed of Malayans." A Javanese Central Council for the Dutch East Indies met for the first time in the middle of October. Thailand, until recently Japan's lonely "ally" in southeastern Asia, has been awarded for her assistance in the war with territorial bounty taken from Burma and Malaya. Toward the end of October the puppet Nanking government of Premier Wang Ching-wei was elevated to the position of a full-fledged "ally" with the conclusion of a "treaty of alliance." The return of the foreign concessions in China to the Nanking government was a further step in the present propaganda drive of the Japanese to pose as "liberators" of the Asiatic peoples. This drive recently culminated in the establishment of the Provisional Government of Free India under the "premiership" of Subhas Chandra Bose, the president of the India Independence League in Singapore, and the creation of an India Independence Army.

Nobody, of course, is deceived by this obviously propaganda-inspired demagogy. What the Japanese mean by "independence" was quite clearly expressed by Teiji Tsubogami, the Japanese ambassador to Thailand, when he stated in November, 1942, that "independence in Greater East Asia has a different connotation from independence in its liberal sense. . . .

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Independence in the Co-Prosperity Sphere must not be a mere unbridled one." Indeed, for all practical purposes, real power remains in the hands of the local Japanese supreme military commander. But it is true, nevertheless, that the Japanese are making good use of the nationalist resentment which exists in many circles, especially among some ruling groups, against Western imperialism. This is particularly true in the case of the former British and Dutch possessions. In Burma, for instance, where anti-British feeling was strong before the Japanese conquest, the Tokyo-controlled puppet government is headed by Mr. Ba Maw, who as chief of the Sin-ye-tha, or Workers' Party, had been premier from 1937 to 1939, and had been arrested by the British in the summer of 1940 for making seditious speeches against war. In the Dutch East Indies the Japanese have found support from a number of Indonesian nationalist leaders who had been dissatisfied with the progress made toward self-government. The fact that Subhas Chandra Bose, a sincere Indian patriot with great prestige among millions of his countrymen, should ally himself with the Japanese is a serious indictment of Great Britain's ill considered Indian policy which in this instance plays into the hands of Japan.

Even in the Philippines, where America's enlightened policy was rewarded by the loyal support American troops received from the Filipino army and the civilian population, and where the Japanese have not yet succeeded in suppressing all guerrilla resistance, a number of men prominent in the Filipino Commonwealth government of President Quezon have made their peace with the Japanese. José P. Laurel, the puppet president of the Japanese-controlled government, is a former supreme-court justice. Some of the members of the new cabinet, including Claro M. Recto as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antonio de las Alas as Minister of Finance, Teofilo Sisson as Minister of Justice, Rafael Alunan as Minister of Agriculture, and Quintin Paredes who holds the portfolio of Public Works and Communications, either were closely associated with the former Commonwealth government or belonged to the "loyal opposition" in the Nationalist Party. It is not known, of course, how much pressure was applied by the Japanese in "winning over" these politicians. Effective control remains in the hands of Shozo Murata, former adviser to the Japanese military administration, who as "ambassador" to the puppet government has retained his dominant role in Philippine affairs.

In setting up their puppet governments the Japanese have applied the same recipe. The basis of the puppet administrations is one-party rule. The members of the party are carefully selected by the Japanese. However, an attempt is being made now at mass organization. In Burma all earlier parties and organizations have been dissolved or have been integrated into the streamlined Sin-ye-tha. In Java the Japanese have fostered the development of the Poetera Party with thousands of members. In the Philippines the government is exclusively based on the Kalipabi, a Japanese-designed totalitarian movement whose head, Benigno S. Aquino, has been named "speaker" of the hand-picked National Assembly of 108 members. In the Philippines, moreover, members of the upper classes have been brought together in a "Society of Filipinos who have visited Japan." Another organization recently founded in Tokyo is the Watashikai, or "Bridging Society," whose aim is to cement Philippine-Japanese friendship. In all the conquered areas the Japanese have been careful not to disturb local religions, and they have been assiduous in gaining the confidence of religious leaders, Mohammedans, Catholics, Buddhists and Confucianists. In the spring of 1943, a federation of young people of all the countries of Greater East Asia was inaugurated. A. J. Grajdanzev, in a recent issue of Pacific Affairs, writes, "No stone is left unturned in the reconstruction of Greater East Asia, no moss-covered institution is forgotten, no scheming politician is neglected; sultans and government secretaries, Moslems and Buddhists, Christians and itinerant monks, old and young—everyone is to be pressed into the service of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere by the Tokyo planners."

The brain-trusting behind all this political maneuvering is centered in the Ministry of Greater East Asiatic Affairs which was established on October 31, 1942. It is headed by Kazuo Aoki, an experienced imperial administrator, who won his laurels first as adviser of the puppet Hopei Chahar political council set up in North China, then as vice chairman of the Manchurian Affairs Board, and subsequently as counsellor of Wang Ching-wei in Nanking. The establishment of this super-ministry constituted a major political victory for the military clique around Premier Hideki Tojo over Japanese business interests. The latter wanted to preserve as much as possible an individualistic economy in the conquered territories. The militarists believed in immediate ruthless exploitation to bring the war to a speedy end. The new empire was to supply raw materials and feed the Japanese occupation forces.

Have the Japanese succeeded in their effort to win the confidence and collaboration of the native peoples in their conquered territories? Probably not. They have received coöperation from certain reactionary groups of landowners, militarists, traditional native bureaucrats and some nationalists. But economic distress and dislocation have brought extreme hardship to the natives of all the conquered areas. Japan's emphasis on the extraction of only those raw materials useful to her war industry, the closing up of previously available markets for surplus foodstuffs, and shortage of adequate shipping facilities have been the cause of widespread unemployment and universal misery. It is

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fair to assume that the common people have not been convinced by Japan's native apologists of the advantages of co-prosperity.

In the Philippines the Japanese are looting as much gold, iron, chromium, manganese and hemp as they can export. But the economically much more important sugar, tobacco and coconut industries are prostrate for lack of markets. Three million people depended on the sugar industry alone. The attempt to introduce cotton production has been a failure because of the Filipino farmers' inexperience with cotton growing. In Burma, where it is the main agricultural product, rice is rotting in the fields and in the warehouses. Lack of shipping facilities makes impossible rice exports from Burma to the neighboring Malaya, where only one-third of the needed rice is home-grown and where there is an acute food shortage. In order to raise food production in Malaya, local Chinese have been forced into compulsory labor. The loss of world markets and the shipping shortage have hit the Malayan rubber and tin industries. In the Netherlands East Indies only the oil industry is producing to full capacity. Large surpluses exist in tin, tea, coffee, rubber, tobacco, sugar and coconut products. Thailand, also a rice-producing country, is suffering from the Japanese efforts to convert rice-growing areas into cotton fields.

Popular resentment is probably on the increase everywhere. Low salaries, rising prices, high taxes and the shortage of consumption goods add to the general discontent. In the Dutch East Indies, for instance, native laborers receive only 35 cents per day instead of the customary 75 cents. In the Philippines 30 percent of all income has to be invested in compulsory savings. Everywhere the people are forced to purchase Japanese war bonds which they know will be valueless when the Western powers return. It would be a miracle, indeed, if the "New Order" had gained the support of the Asiatic peoples. Japan's political promises are hardly adequate compensations for her carefully planned system of economic looting. Nor do they conceal the Japanese fear of imminent Allied reconquest.

How long will Japan's puppet empire last? Probably as long as Japanese troops remain in the field. Japan's drastic new mobilization program calls not only for heavier conscription of men in Japan, but also in the occupied countries. It envisages tighter state control of labor and industry to increase aircraft and other war production for the purpose of "stimulating operations on the front." The front is now moving closer to the occupied areas. As the hardships of war are brought home to the peoples of Burma, Malaya, the Philippines and the East Indies, they are undoubtedly becoming a more receptive audience for Allied propaganda. If that propaganda can offer more than merely the return of Western imperialism and the continued exploitation of southeastern Asia for the benefit of native and foreign rulers, it may succeed in counteracting Japan's present political offensive. Otherwise it is unlikely that the colonial peoples will rise against the Japanese. They are certainly unwilling to spill their blood merely to exchange one overlord for a number of others.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

Franco's Regime Totters

As a direct consequence of Allied victories the crisis in Spanish reactionary circles had already reached by mid-October such intensity that Franco's personal regime was in real danger. American anger at the Spanish government's congratulation of the Philippine Quisling and the rumored trade agreement with Mussolini will strengthen the hands of the monarchist opposition. The Moscow Pact, a powerful arm of political warfare, will probably accelerate the process of decomposition.

In September, Radio Falange in Valladolid, commenting on an important article in the party weekly, El Español, limited its list of opposition groups to "nationalists, monarchists, capitalists and Christian liberals," all of whom were working "in some sort of half-baked alliance with the Reds" meaning the Republican parties as well as the Communists). At that time there was no mention of the army, which other party spokesmen declared to be absolutely loyal to Franco and to the Falange. Nevertheless, a few generals were known by the Falange to have consulted with the twenty-five members of the Cortes, who, in July, had petitioned Franco for a restoration of the monarchy.

On October 28, however, the Falange was forced to admit the truth. A commentator over the party station in Madrid admitted that the Caudillo was far more troubled by the increasing hostility of the conservative classes than by the indifference of the politically illiterate masses. And the speaker referred to unnamed military figures. Three days later El Español presented an obviously fake exposé, including forged documents, asserting that the monarchist campaign was really a Masonic and republican plot, aimed at producing "convulsions [which] will shake the tyrant Franco to such an extent as to move him from his center of gravity—the army."

The would-be Badoglios the Falange had in mind were eight in number. They included the commanders of two major garrisons, Davila of Sevilla and Zumeta of Madrid. Another "opportunist," Orgaz Yoldi, is the High Commissioner of Morocco who conferred

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with the American High Command in North Africa. Another was Solchaga Zala, a leader of the fanatical Navarrese Catholic Royalists (the Requetes of the civil war), nowadays the Falange's most hated enemies. Yagüe, of Burgos, also detests the party.

The petition presented to Franco in June summed up the consequences of an Allied victory (which was not explicitly mentioned) with admirable clarity. "The end of the war threatens to have fateful repercussions for the lives of peoples. It is indispensable that when it occurs Spain should not find herself in a transitional period," the document declares. After thus characterizing the fascist regime as transitory, the argument runs as follows: A breakwater must be opposed to internal and external factors of dissolution. The Falangist system is itself the cause of instability. Besides, there is the question of participating in the new order of things as it will be after the war.

The ensuing debate was about clear, and from the standpoint of the conservative classes, fundamental ideas. Monarchy alone can stave off revolution, the royalists explicitly urged. The fascists, privately reasoning that the slightest modification of the regime would let in the flood, at first limited themselves to insisting that only the Falange was fit to govern. That stage has passed and they have now publicly taken the line, as in the exposé referred to above, that a restoration of the monarchy is so certain to bring social revolution that the communists themselves are supporting Prince Juan.

The monarchists, however, have another powerful argument which should be even more difficult to answer after the Moscow Pact. The Falange has been too closely identified with the Axis to be able to make a deal with the United Nations, either now or later. And Franco has put himself on record with such words as these, spoken in April, 1941. "If ever there were a moment of peril, if ever the road to Berlin lay open, not merely one division, but a million Spaniards would go there to bar the way."

Against this powerful attack Franco and the Falange oppose only weak and identical defenses. Arrese, secretary general of the party, in an article published simultaneously in all the Spanish press on the evening of September 3, put forward the new line. The Falange and its regime is an authentic Spanish product, owing nothing to foreign influences. And it is profoundly Catholic. A huge party pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, the first official act of its kind, was intended to prove its piety. The next stage, initiated by Arrese in his Burgos speech of September 8, but later developed by Arriba, El Español and other party organs, was to declare some part of its program obsolete. Not even totalitarianism is absolutely essential to the Falange nowadays, though the party still insists that it alone is capable of leading Spain.

The ambiguous position taken up by Franco was partly responsible for the Falange's opportunist concession. Having bound the Church to himself by administering an oath of personal loyalty to the bishops, and having found a tremendously powerful apologist in one of the major political figures of America—Archbishop Spellman—Franco doubtless felt he could personally ride the storm whipped up by the monarchists, who were believed, on strongly compulsive grounds, to have had Mr. Churchill's blessings.

Franco, in his October 1 speech, the first major effort in which there was not a single reference to Hitler and Mussolini, again put himself forward as the only real bulwark against communism and as the head of a government which, while defending the rights of large-scale property, had greatly improved the lot of the working class and the peasantry. To bolster this preposterous claim he had granted conditional liberty to certain classes of political prisoners. In mid-September, according to the Spanish press, 37,000 elderly republicans were paroled. And on September 29 all political prisoners over seventy, with nearly 7,000 others, were also conditionally released. A directive to the press, given toward the end of September, forbade journalists to mention communism in connection with the Anglo-American war aims. It would seem that despite furious opposition from the Falange the Blue Division will be surreptitiously withdrawn from Russia.

The experienced reader of political literature will detect in every Falangist statement the implication that Franco, who will save the party if he can, is nevertheless prepared to abandon it if that proves the only means of obtaining United Nations favor. That favor doubtless means, not merely the Lend-Lease armament he has already requested of the United States, and which is so necessary for internal security, but liberal economic aid and, above all, political guarantees. For to dissolve the party he would have to run the risk of a *Putsch* led by the Falangist officers. His fear of European revolution paralyzes the dictator. Dreading a United Nations victory, he longs for an early, negotiated peace. And he is aware, too, that to wage war on our side would be to unleash powerful liberating forces in Spain. On the other hand, according to reports reaching this country, many of the monarchists are prepared to make certain strategic concessions of a kind that another Catholic and dictatorial regime has granted.

In this complex struggle the Spanish people, increasingly feared by the Falange and monarchists alike, have as yet played no very active part, though their hostility is intense. The Moscow Pact, however, may possibly bring the masses into play. This will depend on whether or not the announced Italian policy is to characterize the whole of our foreign policy. At least one Falangist argument, that the only alternative to

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fascism is communism, has lost most of its plausibility. That will cut two ways, of course. It counters Franco but robs the monarchist argument of some of its urgency. And the thought that we are not totally averse to dealing with democrats may put off the average aristocratic monarchist, who is composed of three parts pride and one part stupor.

But if the Moscow Pact means anything, the reaction of the monarchists will not be of great importance. The emergence of Italian democratic parties must encourage the Spanish people. And, after our past behavior, quite as much inspiration will derive from the visible fact of the three-power agreement about Italy. Neither monarchy nor militarism can be more of a solution in Spain than it has proved in Italy. Both are too shamefully implicated in Franco's treason. If the Moscow decisions are taken seriously as norms, then of themselves they will find us Spanish allies who have always been loyal. The Bourbon princeling conspires with cabalist envoys in Switzerland; the politically fraudulent Beigbeders murmur their footling anti-Franco jokes in the lounges of Washington and New York; the first Allied soldiers to cross the Volturno River were two Spanish republican volunteers with the British Eighth Army. Two thousand Spaniards, tardily released from concentration camps in North Africa, are serving in the British Pioneer Corps in the present campaign. The Republic has always known where it stood.

RALPH BATES

Labor's Case for Higher Wages

THE DECISION favoring John L. Lewis in the case of the coal miners probably means that your dollar will soon buy considerably less than it does now. The fact that Coal Administrator Harold L. Ickes concluded an agreement with Lewis, morally if not legally a special one, means that other labor leaders will find it hard to maintain the statesmanlike position on stabilizing the cost of living they have taken in the past. Indications now are that labor is about to join ranks with most of the other organized segments of the population in favoring inflation as the easiest way out of its own special dilemma.

In his recent message to Congress on food production, the President took notice of the seriousness of labor's dilemma. In September, 1942, labor took the pledge against inflation. The AFL, the CIO, the Railway Brotherhoods and the United Mine Workers all agreed to a "no-strike" policy until the war was won, and in return for this definite action, labor received from Congress a "promise" that the cost of living would be stabilized in so far as practicable at the level of September 15, 1942. Only keen awareness of the hardships inflation imposes on the low and fixed-income groups and deep devotion to the purposes of this war could have brought labor to conclude so weak a bargain.

With the strike threat removed for the time being, Congress settled back after passing the Stabilization Act and did little to fulfill its part of the bargain. The Little Steel formula and the War Labor Board bound labor to its part. Then prices continued to go up instead of down. Between the time Congress promised to stabilize the cost of living and May 15, 1943, prices rose 6.2 percent. A major part of the rise was in food prices, where labor felt it most. They were up 13 percent. Among foods, fresh fruits and vegetables rose 58 percent in cost between September, 1942, and May, 1943. Working people had a right to kick, and the organized ones did. As usual, the lowest-income group had no voice with which to speak.

But the three branches of labor and the Farmers' Union did their best to make up for that. They held regular meetings with the President, tried to build a fire under Congress, bore down on the Office of Price Administration on specific cases when the OPA inclined to laxity. And throughout this time, labor leadership also had the job of reconvincing its rank and file that stabilization was the right way, that to demand wage increases to meet rising food costs would only result in increased production costs calling for another price rise, another wage increase, and thus through the inflation cycle.

Labor leadership did not win a real victory on any of these fronts. Congress refused to authorize the kind of production and price programs required to block inflation; the OPA officials, fresh from industry or advertising, continued with their flabby approach to the administration of price control, and shied away from radical steps, such as quality control, demanded by the job at hand; within the unions themselves, the great mass of the membership remained untouched by the educational programs designed to teach the ABC's of inflation, and the traditional demand for wage increases kept pace with the rising grocery bill. President Roosevelt continued to tolerate the OPA's failure to do its job and himself failed to take his case against inflation to the people in such a way that the people would understand and force their congressmen to cooperate.

But in April the President did act decisively. He issued an order "designed to undo the damage that had been done and to prevent any further damage." This time, labor and consumers were told, we would surely "hold the line" and further, the President now

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personally pledged to keep Congress' old unkept promise to roll back prices to the September, 1942, level. Labor leadership took a deep breath and threw all its energy again into the support of the stabilization program. Labor members of the War Labor Board, too, stood with the public members to hold the line on wages against repeated efforts to crash through. They stood against the wrath of individual unions which contended that they were "special" cases entitled to special treatment, *i.e.*, higher wages than the Little Steel formula allowed.

The President's new man for inflation fighting, Fred Vinson, showed signs of leadership. A program was launched to bring food prices back into line, and some results began to show. The cost-of-living index began to decline from the feverish 6.2 figure of May to 5.9 in June; 5.2 in July; 4.8 in August. But in September, the thermometer started to rise again. This time the increase in the cost of living was mainly due to the cost of clothing instead instead of food. But whatever the specific cause, here was ample evidence that the price front is still inadequately defended, that advance plans are not in order, that preventive measures are not being taken where necessary. As the President himself had said in his April order, "To hold the line we cannot tolerate further increases in prices affecting the cost of living or further increases in general wage or salary rates. . . . The only way to hold the line is to stop trying to find justification for not holding it here or not holding it there."

The magic of those brave words began to fade. The cold statistics of how much better off we are in this war than Americans were in the last became increasingly cold comfort to the average working man and woman. "Since August, 1939, the month before the war broke out in Europe, the total cost of living in the United States has increased not quite 26 percent, as compared with an advance of 53 percent in the same period in the last war." It is the 26 percent that is impressing itself on the public mind, not its historical significance. And it is hard for workers to be always remembering the perils of inflation when they see the swollen figures of war profits their employers are piling up.

When the Congress that broke its promise about rolling back the cost of living last year went home during the summer, labor staged a strong show of local interest in a real stabilization program. Workers declared their intentions of organizing politically to make their wishes, particularly on this question, felt at the polls. The congressmen to whom they talked came back to Washington to stage another sitdown. No tax bill to equalize the burden of the cost of this war, they said. No subsidies to make possible lower prices to the consumer, they are saying now. This was almost the President's last trump card. With a real subsidy program, he could reduce retail prices on vegetables, milk, bread and other items which are excessively high, by having the government absorb part of the costs. His special message to Congress on food production makes the case for subsidy so clear that only those bent on inflation for their own advantage could fail to support the proposal. Congress will have a chance to vote on this issue almost immediately. If the vote were taken at this moment, there is little doubt that the farm bloc and the profiteers would win. The President would most likely veto such a measure, and the fight would be on again.

How strong will labor's support for the President's program be then? Months ago, that line began to crack. The railroad workers split off to fight for more money for themselves, regardless of the consequences. The agitation of the mine workers under Lewis had its effect on union members all over the country who were acutely conscious of the pinch on their own pocketbooks. A few opportunist leaders of labor openly followed the Lewis line to advance their own personal positions. The anti-inflation position became more and more difficult for Philip Murray and others like him to stick to.

When the CIO convention met in Philadelphia the demand for a change in labor strategy on the home front was soon apparent. A resolution was adopted saying that the present wage-stabilization plan is "wholly outmoded" as a result of the sabotage by Congress of the President's seven-point program. The resolution charged that it has become necessary "to eliminate the so-called Little Steel formula, which, particularly in view of the rise in the cost of living and the added burdens on the workers, is no longer in accord with reality." The resolution did not threaten strikes. On the contrary, the no-strike pledge was reaffirmed, but realistic congressmen are well aware that labor leaders will have their hands full keeping that pledge unless the potential causes of strikes are removed. The CIO resolution called on the railway workers and the mine workers to join them in a drive "to bring about a realistic revision of the outworn national wage policy." The next move, already indicated, is a request by Murray's United Steel Workers and other unions to reopen their wage agreements as the contracts come up for renewal. Between now and then, Congress will have another chance to redeem itself on the coming subsidy vote.

The President has warned that "those who are advocating an inflation course will have to be ready to accept responsibility for the results." Labor has been provoked into heading in that direction now, but the major responsibility will clearly fall on Congress if that is the course we take. For labor to stand firm now would call for a degree of responsibility and moral leadership not yet reached by any group in this war.

Washington HELEN FULLER

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Program for Italy

AT THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE it was agreed that nothing "is to operate against the right of the Italian people ultimately to choose their own form of government." At last "the government" (which in Italian means merely "the administration") has been superseded by "the form of government" (unless this is a fresh case of "mistranslation"). One wonders why Mr. Eden and Mr. Hull had to go to Moscow to be enlightened on this point, thus giving Stalin the credit for what they might have done on their own account a long while ago. Anyhow this is good news. Stalin's common sense, combined with the stubborn resistance of the Italians on the spot to insensate compromises, has yielded a good crop. The Moscow declaration may be the starting point of a sensible and decent policy in Italian affairs.

On the same day, November 2, the press announced from Italy that Badoglio himself had at last become persuaded that the King had to abdicate and the Crown Prince also had to go. Thus the son of the Crown Prince, a six-year-old child, would succeed the grandfather, and a regency would become unavoidable. But on the following day we were told that Badoglio "will do nothing about it." "He is a monarchist and will not let King Victor Emmanuel down, nor will he foster any movement to oust him." But "if the liberal elements force abdication of the King and repudiation of the Crown Prince in favor of the six-year-old Prince of Naples, Badoglio will accept the regency."

Why should Badoglio be the regent?

Badoglio understands very little of political matters. The correspondent of The New York Times, on November 3, tells us that "the whole situation is clearly bewildering and unpleasant to this old soldier, who is completely out of his element in the political and diplomatic net that now enmeshes him. . . . He prefers to talk about his military past; about Ethiopia, of which, militarily speaking, he is proud. . . . It is typical of his lack of political consciousness that he refers to Marshal Pétain purely as an old friend and comrade in arms and does not think of him in the slightest as Vichy's political leader."

Let us state again and again that Badoglio is as responsible as Mussolini and the King for all military and moral disasters suffered by Italy from 1939 onwards. He was chief of all armed forces in Italy when the treaty of alliance with Germany was signed in May, 1939. In May, 1940, all Italian newspapers were ordered to carry on their front pages a report from Badoglio asserting that Italy was ready to take the plunge into war, and when the attack upon France and England was started, Mussolini confirmed Badoglio as Chief of the General Staff.

To restore the balance between Hitler and himself Mussolini decided to gulp down Greece. It would have been impossible for Badoglio to have been kept in ignorance of the military preparations. Was he not chief of all the armed forces? *He, no less than Mussolini, was responsible for the disaster that took place in Greece.*

We are told that the regency has to be entrusted to Badoglio since "the army pledges its allegiance to Badoglio." The fact is that never did the Italian army have the right to pledge its allegiance to any of its chiefs except the King—as the "symbol" and not as the "owner" of the country. The army belongs to the country and not to Badoglio. Badoglio would be but a paid official servant of the country, neither more nor less than any other civil or military official. It is not the nonexistent army which pledges allegiance to him, as if he were the condottiere of a band of mercenaries. It would be he who, with the help of America and Britain, would rebuild an army which would enable him to enforce in Italy the bankrupt authority of the royal house.

The State Department told us through The American Mercury of November, 1942, that the Axis powers will be deprived "of all offensive weapons of warfare and all means of producing or obtaining such weapons, secretly or otherwise," but "under the control of the United Nations occupation forces, the defeated army shall be kept in orderly groups, subject to discipline . . . until arrangements are provided for their gradual return to peacetime employment." Badoglio will get something more than that. In August, 1943, we were told by the State Department, through The American Mercury, that the Italian army will have "an opportunity to participate in the post-war security system for the maintenance of peace." In plain terms, it may be utilized to avoid "chaos and anarchy" not only in Italy but in Germany and elsewhere. It is obvious that Badoglio would be the most acceptable condottiere for such an army—good not for war but to prevent "trouble." In Badoglio's wake royalty would come. A royalty which was not supported by a permanent army would not stand in Italy for a single day.

All decent people in America and Britain will do well to realize that Badoglio's regency would leave the air in Italy as poisoned as before. If moral unity for the war of liberation is to be brought about in Italy, a total clearance has to be made of all the men responsible for the country's misfortunes. New men with a clean record of moral integrity and political consistency must supersede not only the King, but also Badoglio and all other chiefs of the armed forces.

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There are in this America, born from an "illegitimate," "untraditional" and "anti-symbolical" revolution, many people who during these last months have grown particular about legitimacy, traditions, symbols and other similar nonsense. Therefore let them realize that "legitimate," "traditional" and "symbolic" transmission of powers from the present King to a regent other than Badoglio is not difficult to devise. In November, 1918, after the Kaiser and the Crown Prince had abdicated, the German Chancellor, Max of Baden, handed over his powers to Ebert and resigned, and then Ebert chose his colleagues in the provisional government of Germany pending the election of the Constituent Assembly. In the present case, the Italian King and his son would play the role of the Kaiser and his son, Badoglio would play the role of Max of Baden, and another man—let us say, Benedetto Croce—might play the role of Ebert, not as president of a provisional government in a newborn republic, but as regent.

All in all, no sensible man would quarrel with this or some other similar plan if the principle remains unchallenged that when the war is over a Constituent Assembly freely elected by the Italian people will be entitled to choose not only "the government" but also "the form of government." Not even the wildest Italian republicans could want a republic imported into Italy by foreign armies. Such a republic would be discredited at the very moment of its birth. It has to arise either from a domestic revolution or from a domestic legal choice. Since no revolution is possible under either the heel of Hitler or the supervision of American and British armies, the only alternative open to the Italian people to is to wait for the moment when the issue is legally settled.

The cabinet chosen by the regent should instantly undertake to raise units of volunteers for the national war of liberation. The privates should be all Italians, the junior officers mostly Italians among whom American and British should be intermingled, the senior officers should at the beginning be mostly American and British, and Italians should be chosen with great care on the basis of their past records; but as far as privates and junior officers gave evidence of courage and intelligence, the Italians should be rapidly advanced. This plan would yield, I am sure, spectacular and unexpectedly happy results.

However, let us not forget that if the unconditional-surrender terms which have been accepted by the King and Badoglio remain unchanged, the only thing to do is to leave these two men to sink from shame to shame, until they can be punished by the enraged Italians when the war is over. Italian liberals who under the present terms of unconditional surrender coöperated with the King and Badoglio or with Badoglio as regent, would commit moral suicide. Their task is not that of sharing the King's and Badoglio's fate on the day of reckoning, but that of acting as their successors, public prosecutors and executioners on the day of reckoning. If new and decent men come to power in Italy, they should not be discredited as Anglo-Saxon Quislings who meekly bowed to orders of the Allies as Mussolini did to Hitler's. Those men ought to be put in a position to tell the Italian people that they were at least able to secure the integrity of their national metropolitan territory and were accepted as allies and men, not as slaves and dirt. If such terms were agreed upon, everyone would feel morally bound to help all he could in the common effort. GAETANO SALVEMINI

Food Subsidies v. Inflation

If the House Banking Committee has its way, the present food-subsidy program will be a dead duck on January 1. The disastrous effects that the program's suspension would exert on living costs should be apparent to most clear-thinking persons by now. So much recent debate has taken place over subsidies that a large number of Americans are well aware of the general issues at stake. But in all the argument that has surged back and forth, the actual workings of the food-subsidy program have received surprisingly little attention. Due to the Olympian wrath of Congress at the mere mention of the word "subsidy," the Department of Agriculture has hesitated adequately to publicize its program. The conspiratorial manner in which the House Banking Committee has conducted its closed hearings has only helped to keep the people uninformed on the subject—which has been the committee's intention.

This official secrecy regarding the subsidy program has made it easier for the farm bloc to spread its misconceptions. Even those who favor subsidies do not know exactly what foods are subsidized, and how each subsidy operates. Some people, reading of the vital role subsidies play in holding back prices, have tended to confuse the food-subsidy program with the roll-back program. Actually, out of the 25 food subsidies now in operation, only 3 are being used in connection with price roll-backs. The others are serving to block a general rise in prices by relieving price squeezes on farmers and processors, and by encouraging extra production of badly needed foods. As the Food Advisory Subcommittee pointed out in its report, food subsidies are also providing farmers with an inducement to market their products through legitimate trade channels. In all of these functions, the subsidy program is attacking inflation at its very source and is simultane-

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ously gearing our wartime economy to the same degree of speed and efficiency which normally would result from higher prices.

The program's operation and its success in holding the line against price increases can best be demonstrated by reviewing it commodity by commodity. In the following analysis, only direct consumer savings—the short-term dollar savings which consumers realize by not having to pay higher prices—are shown. These savings are conservatively represented by the cost of the subsidy plus any distributive mark-ups involved. Indirect savings, which are far more important than the monetary ones enjoyed by consumers, cannot be measured. They may be defined as freedom from inflation and all its tragic economic and social consequences, both during the war and after.

These are the chief food subsidies now in operation:

Cheese. – When price ceilings were set for dairy products on December 30, cheese prices were low in comparison with other dairy products. The cheese subsidy was put into effect, to relieve the squeeze on farmers, and prevent a rise in ceilings. Under this subsidy, the CCC buys up all cheese sold to factories, at 27 cents a pound, then resells the cheese at 23¼ cents a pound. Factories must hand the full subsidy back to farmers. Without the cheese subsidy, retail cheese prices would increase about four cents. The subsidy has saved consumers about $30,000,000.

Milk. – The present milk subsidies were put into effect in Washington, Arlington, Baltimore, Wilmington, Omaha, Philadelphia and three other Pennsylvania marketing areas. Although purchase and resale prices vary from region to region, the average subsidy paid to handlers by the CCC is 38 cents a hundredweight. So far, milk subsidies have saved consumers about $3,000,000.

The subsidy on dairy feeds, announced last month, is designed to stabilize feed prices at the September, 1942, level. The higest payments are being made in areas where feed costs have advanced the most and milk prices have increased the least.

Peanut Butter. – On November 1 a subsidy on peanut butter was put into effect to facilitate the reduction in retail prices proposed in September. Peanut-butter prices have been rolled back at the retail, wholesale and manufacturers' levels. CCC payments to manufacturers are being made at the rate of 4.5 cents a pound. This is making it possible to reduce retail prices from 33.1 cents to 26.5 cents per pound. The subsidy will probably save consumers $20,000,000.

Oil Seeds. – Soon after we entered the war, our large imports of peanut, cottonseed and soybean oil were cut off. At the same time, the demand for them increased enormously. To meet this dilemma, the Department of Agriculture established oil-seed-support prices. But the entire support program was jeopardized when the OPA set ceiling prices below the support prices. Last year's oil-seed subsidies were announced at the crucial instant when farmers were wondering whether to continue their record oil-seed plantings. The soybean subsidy consists of three basic contracts: A and B; the cotton states; and C and D contracts. A and B contracts, offered to producers in Northern states, stipulate that processors shall buy soybeans from growers at current support prices, then sell each crop to the CCC at the support price plus elevator and storage costs. The soybeans are then repurchased from the CCC at a lower price. Cotton-state contracts operate similarly in Southern states. Under C and D contracts, the CCC buys soybeans in Northern states and resells them at a lower price to Southern processors, absorbing all transportation charges involved. The soybean subsidy averages out to 10 cents a bushel.

The peanut subsidy employs a similar method of payment. The CCC buys and resells peanuts through peanut coöperatives in various producing areas. In addition, a subsidy of half a cent a pound is paid on crude peanut, cottonseed and soybean oil.

The oil-seed subsidy is frequently attacked by candy manufacturers and handlers for fresh consumption on the ground that, by diverting large quantities of soybeans and peanuts to crushing mills, it forces civilians to pay more for candy and fresh products. But this subsidy is enabling us to obtain supplies of vegetable oil which are essential here at home, as well as to our allies. It will cost about $28,000,000.

Sugar Beets. – The sugar-beet subsidy cannot be strictly considered a wartime development. Since 1937, when the Sugar Act was passed to stabilize domestic sugar prices, beet producers have received a support price, paid through a sugar processor's tax. But outright subsidies were not announced until last February. Sugar-beet subsidies are paid through the CCC, which buys up sugar beets from growers at $1.50 a ton above the 1942 level, then sells them back to processors at the 1942 level. Consumers have been saved about $112,000,000 by this subsidy.

Processed Vegetables. – In March, farmers were promised support prices on tomatoes, peas, sweet corn, snap beans, lima beans, beets, carrots and cabbage, 20 to 50 percent higher than those which prevailed last year. The CCC agreed to buy raw vegetables from processors at these prices, and resell each pack at 1942 prices. Since the amount of the processed-vegetable subsidy fluctuates widely region by region and crop by crop, it is impossible to calculate an average payment. The entire program has saved consumers about $30,000,000. If it is abolished, the price of processed vegetables will go up about 1½ cents per can.

Feed Wheat. – The chief purpose of the CCC's feed-wheat program has been indirectly to expand production of eggs, milk and meat. In July the CCC agreed to sell 125,000,000 bushels of wheat at not less than 85 percent of the parity price of corn, in order to

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maintain feed prices in favorable relationship to poultry, dairy and livestock prices. There was such a tremendous demand for feed grains that within six months this total amount has been sold. A new and increased subsidy promptly went into effect. The sales price on feed wheat was now made equal to corn parity. Farmers, encouraged by this subsidy of 28 cents a bushel, continued to buy large amounts of feed wheat. There are now about 110,000,000 bushels in stock. It isn't possible to estimate any tangible dollar saving to consumers resulting from the feed-wheat subsidy, but without it, we would have experienced a serious shortage of poultry, dairy and livestock products, and ceilings on them would undoubtedly have risen considerably.

Processed Raisins and Prunes. – These subsidies were inaugurated in August, to relieve packers of the squeeze resulting from 1943 support prices, which they had to pay farmers, and 1942 ceiling prices, at which their products were sold. The raisin subsidy will save consumers about $6,000,000, and the prune subsidy will save them about $4,000,000.

Butter and Livestock. – Both of these subsidies were devised to implement the OPA's price-roll-back program. The butter subsidy went into effect on June 4, when the Chicago wholesale butter price was rolled back from 46 cents to 41 cents. Direct payments of five cents a pound are made to creameries through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The butter subsidy will save consumers about $97,000,000.

The meat subsidy is also operated through the RFC, which makes direct payments to packers. These payments are based on the live weight of animals slaughtered during each succeeding month, and average 1.1 cents a pound on cattle and calves, .95 cents a pound on sheep and lambs and 1.3 cents a pound on hogs and pigs. In effect a flat two-cent subsidy is paid on dressed weight. On the basis of expected production, the livestock program will save consumers at least $400,000,000. If it is canceled, the rise in meat prices will vary from about six cents a pound for bacon to about eight cents for ham.

Incentive Payments. – This is the least-known part of the food-subsidy program. Incentive payments have sometimes been referred to as "production payments" to propitiate Congress and the farm bloc. When Secretary Wickard was forced by Congress to cancel the original $100,000,000 plan prepared last January, the present $32,000,000 program was substituted. Incentive payments are now being made on potatoes, fresh carrots, beets, onions, cabbage, tomatoes, peas, snap beans and other vegetables resulting from multiple cropping. The incentive plan is designed to encourage farmers to plant additional acreage of these essential foods, by offering them $50 an acre on all truck-crop acreage planted from 90 to 110 percent of each farm's goal, and 50 cents a bushel on the same marginal fringe of potato acreage.

Statistics show that incentive payments have had a notable success in drawing out extra production of crops on which they have been applied. After the program went into effect, the total late acreage of incentive crops increased 35 percent. During the same period, the total late acreage of non-incentive crops rose only six percent. This increase is all the more significant, taking into account the fact that seven of the incentive crops had price ceilings, while only one non-incentive crop was placed under a ceiling.

This is the program which the farm-bloc boys are out tooth and nail to destroy. They have wheeled their heavy artillery into position and are firing weekly salvos through The Official News Letter of the AFBF. The imagination shown by some of the arguments printed there almost redeems their total lack of accuracy and logic. The three major charges leveled against the administration's hold-the-line program are: (1) subsidies are inflationary; (2) farmers need higher prices, from which they would profit more than from subsidies; and (3) consumers are better off now than ever before, and there is no need for "converting the CCC into a colossal Santa Claus" (sic).

The fact that argument No. 2 immediately contradicts argument No. 1 is evidently irrelevant to the farm-bloc psychology. It is true, of course, that subsidies are inflationary, since they represent a direct increase in farmers' income. But subsidies cost the consumer considerably less than he would be forced to pay for higher prices. If the present subsidy program is dropped, the food index will immediately rise at least 4⅔ percent, and the total cost of living 2 percent. Subsidies also cost the farmer less, in terms of wages and other production costs.

The argument that farmers are in pretty desperate straits nowadays, and will find it "physically impossible to continue to operate unless production costs are met" through higher prices, leaves us rather cold. In its current Outlook Chart the Department of Agriculture shows that farmers are now receiving 58 cents of each dollar spent by consumers, the largest return since 1917. Practically all of the disproportionate increase in food prices since 1939 has been passed back to farmers. Demand deposits in country banks usually show a close correlation with retail sales. But during the last year and a half, these demand deposits have shot up precipitately, leaving the sales trend far behind. The farmer may not know it, but his purchasing power is higher than it has even been before, and it is advancing rapidly.

According to the farm bloc, the war boom has eliminated low-income groups. "The overwhelming majority [of consumers] have purchasing power far in excess of the amount of food available at the grocery store and consequently have no need for nor interest in subsidies." Unfortunately, the OPA and the FDA

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don't accept this rosy viewpoint. Their income distribution studies show that nearly 20 percent of our people do not have enough money to obtain an adequate diet. Nor would the needs of these people be satisfied by the Aiken compromise bill—which is not objectionable to the farm bloc, since its main objective is to outlaw subsidies.

Recently, The Official News Letter has issued pious warnings that service men will bear the brunt of these "unnecessary, uneconomic, destructive and inflationary subsidies." President O'Neal has eloquently asserted that it would be "criminal and cowardly" to betray "the boys now offering their lives on a salary of $50 a month" by granting subsidies now that will have to be repaid later.

Is it more criminal and cowardly to try to restrain price increases, or to do nothing, and allow our soldiers to come back to an inflation-wrecked economy? Perhaps the congressmen who are about to kill the program can answer this one with sincerity. ALLAN SPALDING

The Aurelio Affair

NEW YORKERS woke up the morning after election day to read in their newspapers that they had elected Thomas A. Aurelio, the man nobody loved, to a fat $25,000-a-year, fourteen-year term on the New York supreme court; a position in which, it need hardly be added, he will exercise for a long period an important jurisdiction over the affairs of many men.

Aurelio was elected despite the fact that his bi-partisan nomination had been withdrawn by both the Democratic and Republican committees; despite the fact that Mayor LaGuardia and high officials of the bar had denounced him as morally unfit for the job; despite the fact that New York's newspapers used columns of space for a week before the election printing foolproof instructions and diagrams showing which handle of the voting machine to pull to defeat him.

Aurelio had been caught red-handed in the act of telephoning his thanks to Frankie Costello, a racketeering gambler, for Costello's aid in getting him the Democratic nomination. District Attorney Frank S. Hogan trapped him by means of a tapped telephone. Costello admitted frankly he not only obtained for Aurelio the support of Tammany Boss Michael J. Kennedy, but that he was in a position to do so, since his own support had been largely responsible for getting Kennedy his job in the first place.

Aurelio polled the lowest number of votes of the seven judges elected. The Republican committee, by naming another candidate who split the vote which would have gone to the American Labor Party choice, helped assure Aurelio's election. This was a clever maneuver; Aurelio is in, and Governor Dewey now announces that he is considering methods to reform the judiciary. Although the Democratic committee threw its support to the ALP candidate, Tammany played its usual scurvy role by having many of its ward heelers plump for Aurelio at the polls.

The most penetrating fact of the affair remains, however, the willingness of an electorate to pick a man who owes his candidacy to a racketeer. In doing this, the voters doubtlessly exercised a cynical understanding of the fact that the whole judiciary is shot through with corrupt politics, and Aurelio was only the fellow who was caught.

Let us now consider Mr. Aurelio, the people's choice. So far as the record discloses, and no man's life has been subjected to sharper scrutiny, he has been, for many years, an honest, law-abiding citizen, an impeccable member of the bar and a family man of decency and probity. He served efficiently for many years as Assistant District Attorney and thereafter as City Magistrate. There never was a shadow of suspicion upon his professional or private life. Even the virtuous mayor, who recently added his harpoon to those that were being hurled against Aurelio, at the time he reappointed him paid tribute to his integrity and ability.

It is true that Aurelio's experience in the District Attorney's office and in the Magistrate's Court could hardly be regarded as preparation for the common law and equity jurisdiction he would be called upon to exercise as justice of the supreme court, but I do not recall that this criticism was ever directed against his candidacy. Possibly it was thought by the legal pundits that if professional ability were ever to be stressed as a qualification for judicial office it would cast a lamentable blight upon too many laudable ambitions. I do not mean to say that Aurelio was not qualified; the question just never came up.

There is, in theory, a time-honored democratic method of selecting candidates for the judiciary. At the primary election the untrammeled voter casts his vote for delegates to a judicial convention. These delegates meet in solemn assembly in the tradition of the old New England town meeting, and after weighing the qualifications of the respective aspirants, select the candidates they deem best fitted to serve on the bench.

And that, presumably, was what happened in the case of Aurelio. The Democratic delegates solemnly convened, ponderously deliberated, and then concluded, after surveying the field, that of all the thousands of lawyers at the New York Bar Mr. Aurelio was the man endowed with precisely the qualifications they were searching for.

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By an extraordinary coincidence, the Republican convention, which met at about the same time, came to the identical conclusion. By an even more remarkable coincidence, both conventions discovered that the two men upon whom they had their hearts set for the other vacancies were Governor Dewey's appointee, Mr. David Peck, and a lawyer of unimpeachable Tammany lineage named Joseph A. Gavagan. This is what is called, in current parlance, "taking the judiciary out of politics."

It may be presumed that Aurelio—like all the successful candidates before him—knew all about judicial conventions, and it may also be presumed that he knew that the phrase Democratic Judicial Convention was a polite euphemism for a gentleman named Kennedy just as Republican Judicial Convention was an equally polite euphemism for a gentleman named Curran.

So, Mr. Aurelio did what perhaps Sir Edward Coke, Lord Mansfield, Lord Eldon and even John Marshall might have done had they been alive, conversant with contemporary conditions and ambitious to adorn the bench. He did not turn to the bar associations and civic uplift organizations for help. Their support might come later, and if it did not it was quite unimportant in terms of votes.

Mr. Aurelio's problem was to appeal to Mr. Kennedy's higher nature, or at least to find someone who could most effectively do the appealing for him. And it seems that once upon a time there was a man named Costello . . .

Apparently it would have been all right had he invoked the aid of Mr. Kennedy's barber or butcher. Aurelio's tragic blunder was that he went to the man who was reputed to have more influence with Kennedy than all the others combined, and who turned out to be a person of dubious virtue.

Amid all the Pecksniffian smugness that envelops this episode, Mr. Costello's testimony before the referee was distinguished by its engaging frankness. He made no bones of the fact that several leaders of Tammany Hall were under obligations to him and that Kennedy owed his election as Boss to his influence and support. Obviously he was the man to go to if anyone wanted a favor from The Boss. And in the embarrassed eagerness of the politicians, the lawyers and the uplifters to rid themselves of the Aurelio incubus—after he had committed the unforgivable sin of being found out—no attention was paid the fact that the entire judicial ticket was tarred with the same brush.

Governor Dewey had appointed David Peck, a lawyer of integrity and unquestioned ability to fill a vacancy, and it was considered desirable to have Mr. Peck elected for a full fourteen-year term. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of New York politics, and that includes, of course, Mr. Curran, knew that Peck would not have the ghost of a chance of election unless he could obtain the Democratic indorsement. So by that peculiar legedermain called "taking the judiciary out of politics," Mr. Costello's friend Aurelio and Governor Dewey's friend Peck received the nominations.

No bar association, newspaper or civic organization clamored that Mr. Peck turn down the nomination. He, of course (or so the innocent bystander would assume), did not know about Costello. He knew only that he was the beneficiary of a charmingly harmonious arrangement between Kennedy and Curran.

It should be mentioned that Mr. Gavagan, a faithful son of Tammany, also benefited by this bipartisan deal. Mr. Curran, well aware of the statistical realities of the problem, was quite satisfied to trade two Republican indorsements for one Democratic indorsement.

An unenlightened visitor to New York, reading the newspapers, might have imagined that the revelations attendant upon the Affair Aurelio came as an astounding shock to the members of the bench and bar and to the other apostles of civic virtue. It must have seemed as though our silk-robed justices, forgetful of how they had acquired their robes, and high-minded lawyers aspiring to silken robes, believed still, if not in Santa Claus, at least in the reality of judiciary conventions.

It is unspeakably naïve to believe that the disclosures in the Aurelio case came as a surprise to anyone not afflicted with an infantile innocence of the facts of life. The stories about Judge Manton, former federal judge in the Southern District of New York, that were disclosed at his trial were generally known to lawyers for years before they exploded in the press. I remember a leading member of the bar once telling me of a particularly flagrant experience he had had with Manton. "What are you going to do about it?" I asked. "Do?" he exclaimed. "Hell, I have to practise before him."

This gives one clue to the causes that perpetuate our system of selecting judges, a system that produces an occasional flurry of righteousness when the odors of scandal become too pungent, but which is endured with virtuous apathy at other times. We have to practise before them.

Our contemporary attitude toward politics is one of professed morality tempered by expediency. Aurelio's glaring sin was that he used the telephone instead of employing a more circumspect method of communication. If District Attorney Hogan had not happened to have been listening I do not doubt but that the holier-than-thous who ganged up on him would have been eager to serve on his campaign committee. After all, judges are judges and we have to practise before them.

There is much that needs to be done, that must be done to purify our methods of selecting judges. It is not my purpose to suggest more than this: that the problem must be approached in a spirit of candor and realism. It cannot be solved if the press, the pulpit, the bench and the public look upon judicial scandals as occasions for momentary indignation bracketed by long periods of apathy.

JUSTITIA

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Washington Notes

Sidelights on the Elections

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT sat behind his desk. With his cigarette pointed at the eagle molded in the ceiling, he answered questions and told of the Chungking conference. Only at the end came the question uppermost in many minds, "How about the election, Mr. President?" The President was ready. Smilingly, he offered a neat gag line. He had enjoyed listening to the returns election night, he said, laughing—returns from the Russian front, Italy and the Southwest Pacific! The reporters went out, grinning.

But for Democrats it wasn't so funny after all. Not even for Willkie. The returns proved the Republican tide is still coming in. And they reverse the old political formula that you can't beat somebody with nobody. The Republicans did that in half a dozen places. To Washington political writers the Kentucky result was most significant. Conservative reporters gave Democratic Donaldson a rock-bottom minimum of 25,000 votes—but the bottom caved in. Kentucky's four-year gubernatorial election has faithfully forecast for decades the presidential election in the year following.

The elections strengthened Dewey, weakened Willkie. Willkie's chief appeal has been that you need a positive point-of-view, intelligence and liberalism to beat the New Deal. Republican politicians are going to cite the 1942 and 1943 elections to prove you don't. More than ever, Dewey can have the nomination—if he wants it. Here in Washington the indications are that observers' expectations are swinging from a Democratic to a Republican victory, probably going too far in the new direction as they did in the old.

The war still holds the answer. The war—and the jacked-up automobile in John Smith's garage. When the war ends, the tug of the car, and "normalcy," will be well-nigh irresistible. The let-down of morale and the lessening of tension that will come with victory are ready to play into the hands of Republican reaction. Will victory come before the next election? It is the great political imponderable.

The shadow of John L. Lewis hung over the CIO convention at Philadelphia last week. American labor fears and admires Lewis. He won his strike by brute force, and the rank-and-file membership now demands similar gains from all its leadership. The CIO has no choice: it must now break the Little Steel formula. The weakness of the Roosevelt position is self-evident; the President has responsibility but lacks power. A reactionary Congress blocks the economic equalization program. Labor sees its wages stabilized by Roosevelt but corporation profits soaring, and the presidential pledge to roll back living costs unfulfilled. Mr. Roosevelt and his executive agencies necessarily take part of the blame. However, so far, my impression is that this blame is more apparent than real. Roosevelt was still the CIO hero at Philadelphia, if no longer its idol.

The convention set one landmark; for good or ill it is now launched permanently in politics. The ambitious new Committee for Political Action starts off with a nest egg of about $700,000 contributed by the big unions for "educational purposes" with a slight bow to the Smith-Connally anti-political-contribution clause. Headquarters are to be in New York and Washington, with 18 regional offices and a nationwide rank-and-file organization which will back liberals and anti-isolationists, right down to the ward and precinct level. This is a big political development, though Washington has not discovered it yet. The collaboration of the AFL and the Railway Brotherhoods is hoped for. Difficulties in the way are chiefly two: lack of experienced political leadership, and lack of a political-labor tradition in membership. Nevertheless, 1943 marks the year when the CIO, which rejuvenated the dying American labor movement, turned its surprising energies into politics on a permanent basis. While opposed to a separate third party for the present, the leaders are, in effect, setting up a new, nationwide, get-out-the-vote, party machine.

I was one of the reporters who waited that long Sunday evening after Pearl Harbor on the pillared White House portico, watching a half moon climb the bare elm boughs on Pennsylvania Avenue, while members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee entered and left. I shall never forget the breathless silence as Hiram Johnson arrived, passed silently through the path we made, and entered the glass doors, followed by all the ghosts of 1920. . . . Last week Hiram Johnson, an old, old man, got to his feet in the Senate and, in a voice so low that members crowded to surrounding desks, uttered a broken choked prayer for America, joining a minute later with four others —Wheeler, Reynolds, Langer and Shipstead—in the minority side of the 85-to-5 vote passing the amended Connally resolution.

It would be nice to believe that Hiram Johnson's prayer marked the passing of the old order. But I doubt it. Not after watching the preceding fortnight's debate. When all allowances are made for the historic importance and the implicit moral pledge in the Connally resolution, the fact remains that it has no legal or binding effect, and that the very size of its majority shows the vagueness of the gesture. Its control over Senators is about like that of the Kellogg Pact's over aggressor states. Again and again as the Senate discussion progressed, amendments were brought up of the very pattern of those old "reservations" whose cumulative effect was to kill the League of Nations under the archaic two-thirds rule. The Revercomb amendment, for instance, stipulated that any future American international action should be taken by the orthodox treaty route. It was defeated 54 to 28 (less than two-thirds). Each reservation like this is capable of knocking off one or two disgruntled supporters in a close fight.

Notes: Naval spokesmen believe that if the Japs can't stop the vise that is now inclosing Rabaul from Bougainville, the Treasury Islands and Choiseul, they will lose a big hunk of their great new Southwest Pacific empire. . . . Second-front speculation fills Washington; many believe the time and the place were communicated to Stalin at the Moscow Conference. . . . Baruch sponsors a proposal to bring a million Italian workers to the United States in returning empty vessels.

Washington T. R. B.

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A Sea of Troubles

Outrageous Fortune, by Rose Franken. Forty-eighth Street Theatre, November 3, 1943.

THERE ARE THOSE, and there be many of them, who like to find that the judgment of a former generation is mistaken and even comically wrong. I prefer to discover a sound rightness in such opinions, and thus assure myself that a reaction that was generally and basically felt was not without its foundations in fact. Miss Elsie Ferguson is a case in point. Here she is back again on the stage after a dozen years' retirement. In her prime she was taken to be the most beautiful actress in our theatre, and was thought not to rest wholly on that asset but also to have genuine talent. Miss Ferguson is still a beautiful woman, a distinct and lovely presence on the stage. And her playing has authority and point.

I wish I knew, in trying to estimate Miss Ferguson's playing, how much it is the wholesale sloppiness among our players nowadays and the rank reliance on mere personality, so-called, that makes her approach, her presence and her definite outline in playing, appear so admirable. At any rate it is an excellent performance that she gives, and its defects are the play's, not hers.

There was not space enough in the play itself, what with the two-hour traffic of our stage, to set forth its points. How, then, should a simple review do so? "Outrageous Fortune" is about a Jewish family named Harris, and a group of people—the doctor, the musical protégé, the fiancée, the Irish medical wife, et cetera; and everybody in the story dissects everybody else. The scene is a country house owned by the hospitable and kind Mr. Frederic Tozere as the rich success, Bert Harris. There is a small daughter in the offing, who does not appear fortunately, for we have enough confusion as it is. She takes music lessons from the wife's protégé, who is folded into things one way or another, it seems, by a remarkable famous woman, who seems internationally loving—or whatever the dramatist means. Miss Ferguson does the best she can with that and takes creatively to the old family mother who steals into the kitchen and puts onions in the herring. The unusual celebrity woman has a colored maid, perhaps psychic, at any rate waiting, and the maid is told she had damn well better sing when this lady dies, though the heart tablets are to keep her going, and so at the very last the lady dies and we hear the maid singing—an embarrassing moment that most of the audience probably missed the point of, or let us hope so.

Miss Franken's play, "Another Language," of a good many seasons ago had many fine qualities; and her more recent "Claudia" was not without its merits. "Outrageous Fortune" tries for something more difficult and profound. We should at least be grateful for the intention and should hasten to add that the lines here are more intelligent and blessed with more point than in most Broadway dramas. The whole event is literate at least, and for earlier portions of the play highly promising.

Mr. Frederic Tozere, as the vexed, simple husband, gave his usual highly intelligent performance, plus his fine sense of cueing. Miss Margaret Hamilton, beloved of old in "Another Language," comes back from Hollywood and blesses the role of the doctor's wife; and the Jewish doctor is well portrayed by Mr. Eduard Franz. Plainly the company is admirable. Miss Margalo Gillmore plays as if the wife were a bit more mixed up in the author's mind than in the wife's—which is sure and intelligent and characteristic of Miss Gillmore. Mr. Brent Sargent, as the homosexual brother, played an ungrateful role with skill and taste.

The single set of the drawing-room that Mr. Raymond Sovey has designed is very good indeed, but the lighting is less good, for Miss Ferguson especially.

Clearly, then, this occasion of "Outrageous Fortune" is notable in its way, though it does not at that come off; it remains novelistic, somewhat pseudo-intellectual, and with an air of being divided-subdivided-going-into-committee. And in case your conception of good breeding does not include the idea of everybody's constantly talking about the other person to the other person himself—"the trouble with you is," etc.—the whole piece is slightly vulgar. The ferment of it all is, to be frank, somewhat common, a fact that the author at least should know and indicate.

Into it all, saved for my last mention, comes that remarkable actress, Maria Ouspenskaya, she who wiped everybody off the stage—not by trying to do so but by concentration and being—when she played "Dodsworth" into meanings that Mr. Sinclair Lewis, author and thinker of the novel, is not capable of, just as her old countess in the film turned Miss Garbo's loveress and Mr. Boyer's Napoleon into figures dangerously close to cardboard. She is now the Jewish mamma in all this mucky mess of motivations—and I was interested to see how the audience understood her and to note the applause that followed that slight figure, whose exit from the scene was only an entrance into our souls.

STARK YOUNG

Two Shorts and a Wrongo

A BRITISH MINISTRY OF INORMATION short movie titled "I Was a Fireman" accounts for a spectacular night's activity in the life of a Fire Service unit as it sets about stopping a London waterfront fire during a particularly heavy Luftwaffe raid in 1940. The men involved are real firemen. A good part of their film has been cut severely to fit in between double bills when it is shown in this country (it is almost impossible to place government films in theatres here when they run beyond forty minutes—and it is hard enough to place them then, even for free). But the film is very fine anyway.

I think that the sequences in which the men go through their fire fighting on the roof of a warehouse, where one of them is injured by a falling beam and tied to the top of the hook and ladder and so lowered to the ground, while another is killed when the building's roof caves in, are in the best sense emotionally true. (Hollywood's version of the same action would have lost all the detail, the uneven, hazardous movement and the spontaneity by lackadaisically following the hero around: Reason—the hero is what's popular at the box office, not the fire.) The direction and photography of this Humphrey Jennings film are extremely loving and sensitive. There is a morning sequence where the exhausted men, who have struggled against the fire all night and have now been relieved, slowly and wearily go about getting their gear together to leave the scene, while

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they talk to Londoners going to their jobs in the early morning, that has a bright, warm movie way (Hollywood would have skipped it to get to another fire, funeral or medal-pinning). But the real virtue of the movie is its exact respect for the instinctive behavior and responses of men working. This is the kind of thing that gets lost in the movie attitude that treats an action as though it has happened already and is now being reënacted—so the hero uses the action as a foil rather than interacting with it.

The tension set up by the problems in all violent work, which have to be answered effectively and immediately, produces a surliness and aggressiveness in the relations between workmen that usual movie scripts do not realize. This one does. The fire chief is dictatorial, exasperated, he yells the same orders over and over, forgetting what he has been yelling from moment to moment—"Get it down! Get it down!" he shrieks at two of the men and pushes down the hose they have been aiming too high over the fire. The men take orders or give them to one another, and the need for hurry, the anxiety that the job will get away from them, cuts all the niceties away from the action and leaves it tense and raw. Such incidents, which construct a movie character in depth faster than any amount of polished heroics, are something every moviegoer should see to find out all the things the movies are not in the habit of giving us.

"Before the Raid" is a British short of equal length, which retells a tale that many films have already told—about a Norwegian village people's bravery (with a neat variation: the Norwegians lure the German officers off to fishing grounds and then pen them up in the middle of a forest of small fishing craft). Like "The Silent Village," which retold the Lidice story, this film is lyric and economical, but suffers from depending solely on real-life actors and half-good photography to carry a too pat story. But its early sequences on board a raiding Commando ship are good, and non-actor Norwegians give it an invigorating native grain; and there is a very worth-while bit of symbolism in a scene that cuts abruptly from a pleasant fishing genre to the German soldier idly throwing rocks into the water.

In case you didn't see "Action in the North Atlantic" and Noel Coward's "In Which We Serve," but are interested in seeing a picture like them, "Corvette K-225," made by Howard Hawks, will provide you with the plot of the former and some of the plot of the latter and more besides. In addition to being a picture about a convoy's itinerary, and a stiff-jointed captain who is in love with a ship, this movie's captain also needles his girl's brothers, who are sub-lieutenants, because he doesn't believe sparing the rod helps at all, and this leads to some arguments between the captain and his girl, and the boys turn up nasty. (You may have seen this new material somewhere else during your life, in pictures with Pat O'Brien.) This is a stock contraption all the way, with evidence that Hollywood has its eye but not its mind on films like "I Was a Fireman." It has one good scene during a convoy conference, which adds a wrinkle to other film convoy conferences, some minor characters who do very well, and there is a new lacquered Canadian actress, Ella Raines, to look at and hear speak platitudinous matter in a cello voice.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

TROOPS JEST ABOUT WANTING WOMEN AND BEER, BUT THERE ARE MANY USEFUL ARTICLES THEY WOULD APPRECIATE

—*Subhead in The Kansas City Star.*

As one studies the foundations of our religion one is impressed more and more with the evident outline, "make all you can, keep all you can, give all you can." Difficulties arose when the third element in successful business was left out. . . . The task of the religion of business is to keep property sacred, to consecrate material things.—*From a sermon by the Rev. Fred Robert Tiffany, as quoted in The New York Times.*

The purpose [of the meeting of about 200 business men and educators from the entire state of Oklahoma] was to promote a better understanding between business men and educators and to discourage the teaching of non-profit theories in schools of the state.—*From The New York Journal of Commerce.*

On the Home Front

Mrs. Marie Striker, who works at a war plant, says she cannot find a place to live. So she goes to the home of friends occasionally to freshen up a bit and they are keeping her eight-year-old daughter, Amelia. They do not have room for Mrs. Striker, though, so she goes to the movies every day to sleep.—*An AP dispatch from Los Angeles.*

Total-War Department

Washington has had an epidemic of mad-dog cases recently. Every day now three or four persons are bitten. Chief reason given for this situation is that any number of persons are turning their pets out on the street because of insufficient meat points.—*From The New York Post.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Cartels and Chilean Nitrates

SIR: In your issue of October 11 the article, "The Menace of the Cartels," contains a totally inaccurate statement about Chilean nitrate, *i. e.:*

Chilean representatives, fearful that our expanded nitrate-producing capacity will destroy the pre-war scarcity program of quotas, restricted production and high prices through the nitrate cartel, are now seeking in Washington assurances that this capacity will be reduced after the war to protect the established interests.

I should like to correct that statement. There is no quota—there never has been any quota—of Chilean nitrate for the United States market. There is not, nor has there ever been, any artificial restrictions on production. The industry produces as much as it can sell and for many years endeavored by every legitimate means to enlarge that market.

Compared with pre-war, the price of Chilean nitrate in the United States is still low. It is not, nor has it ever been, regulated by any cartel. It has maintained its position in the highly

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competitive United States market only because of its superior physical and agricultural qualities and lowered production costs.

Chilean nitrate was declared a strategic material a year before Pearl Harbor. At all times there has been more than enough available at Chilean ports to fill every ship assigned to bring it to this country. In the year ending June 30, 1943, we brought in a little over a million tons, the largest amount imported for many years. Virtually all of it was used in agriculture to produce food and fiber so essential to our war effort.

The Chilean nitrate industry has done a good job and is going to fight hard to stay in this market after the war. Naturally Chile is gravely concerned as to what the friendly United States Government proposes to do with its new ammonia plants, erected primarily for munitions purposes. The Chilean nitrate industry will try to meet any fair and reasonable competition, but would hardly be able to compete with plants subsidized by United States government funds. Whatever your writer means by "established interests," he should note that one-quarter of any profits from Chilean nitrate, computed before any deduction for capital charges, goes to the Chilean government.

J. A. WOODS, President,
New York City Chilean Nitrate Sales Corporation

SIR: Mr. Woods denies that Chilean nitrate has ever been regulated by any cartel conspiracy, and particularly that Chilean nitrate prices have not been established by cartel agreements but have been maintained only through superior quality and low production costs.

On September 1, 1939, Mr. Woods and his Chilean Nitrate Sales Corporation were indicted by the United States Government for violating sections one and two of the Sherman anti-trust act. The indictment included the following three counts:

1. Combining and conspiring to restrain trade and commerce by fixing prices of nitrate of soda in trade and commerce among the several states of the United States and foreign nations.

2. Combining and conspiring to monopolize the sale of nitrate of soda in the United States.

3. Combining and conspiring to monopolize trade and commerce among the United States and foreign nations by excluding others.

The Chilean Nitrates Sales Corporation pleaded *nolo contendere*, a technically guilty plea, and on August 28, 1942, was fined $5,000 on each of the above counts. Mr. Woods himself was fined $5,000 for violations named in count one. The Anglo-Chilean Nitrate Corporation and the Lautaro Nitrate Corporation, Ltd., also were fined $2,500 for violations named in count one. The suit charged that the defendants "continuously engaged in a combination and conspiracy among themselves and with each other, arbitrarily to fix, determine, establish and maintain uniform and non-competitive prices in the sale of nitrate of soda in said trade and commerce." This may be contrasted with Mr. Woods's statement that Chilean nitrates maintained themselves on the market only because of superior quality and lower costs.

In a civil action on May 29, 1941, the Justice Department charged that through a cartel agreement "the CIA group and the Chilean group fix the percentages or quotas of sales in each home market to which the Chilean group is entitled, and also the percentages or quotas of sales to which the Chilean group is entitled in the export markets. Prices in the export markets are fixed by agreement. . . ."

I do not know what Mr. Woods means by his reference to plants *subsidized* by the United States Government. I have heard no suggestion that the American government give financial assistance to these plants in the post-war era. More likely Mr. Woods refers to the post-war competition of the American plants which were built during the war through government financing.

If he wishes to close these plants because they will be able to produce nitrates more efficiently and cheaply after the war, then he is in effect asking American farmers to subsidize the less efficient Chilean processes (if such they be). Here he has touched on the very nub of cartel philosophy—that existing processes, even though inefficient and costly to the consumer, shall be maintained by monopolistic agreement. That is the very question that confronts us—shall we, in the post-war world sanction this artificial monopoly, or shall we abandon this high-cost scarcity program and plan for a low-cost world of abundance.

Washington, D. C. ROBERT REUBEN

"Tyl Ulenspiegl"

SIR: In my review of the new edition of Charles de Coster's "Tyl Ulenspiegl," recently published by Pantheon Books, the implication was clear that I did not think that Allan Ross Macdougall's translation was the "first complete English translation," which the publisher claimed it to be.

Mr. Macdougall has demonstrated to my satisfaction that his is indeed the first complete English translation; that whole sentences, and in at least one instance a paragraph, are missing in the earlier F. M. Atkinson translation which I had thought to be complete.

I wish, therefore, to apologize to Mr. Macdougall and to his publisher and to take this opportunity to say again that it is good to have "Ulenspiegl" in such a handsome edition *and* in its "first complete English translation."

New York City GEORGE MAYBERRY

Cancer and the Poor

SIR: May I congratulate you on that article on Cancer Research in your issue of October 25. It fairly states the facts and avoids the overstatements so common in articles on medical subjects in the lay journals.

But what is the use of advising people to "have yourself examined regularly by a physician and make sure that he employs the full techniques recommended by leading authorities" when most people haven't got the money to pay for it? In this, as in all other suggested procedures for the maintenance of public health you ultimately come up against the need for state medical service, "socialized medicine," if you will. The Wagner-Murray-Dingel bill should be passed.

Billings, Mont. W. G. RICHARDS, M.D.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Olive Swezy of Carmel, California, protests Kate Mitchell's review of Lin Yutang's book "Between Tears and Laughter" in the October 4 issue. "For anyone to suggest, even by implication, that the role of a Chinese philosopher of today, when the whole world is aflame, should be that of a dispenser of sweetness and light, of wisdom and beauty, instead of pointing out the deadly diseases [imperialism] which have brought about the present epidemic of death and disaster, suggests only one thing —that the writer resents, perhaps unconsciously, the fact that the inadequacies of the white man's civilization is being pointed out by a colored man."

An army officer writes us his private opinion that "The article on Soldier Thinking, signed by G. I., in the September 27 issue, hit the nail on the head. The average American in uniform is not politically cognizant of the real issues at stake in this war and practically nothing has been done by our morale-builders to help him find out. A lot of the spurious stuff contained in the national advertising of our big monopolies, plus the venom of the Peglers, is turning many of them into active reactionaries."

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Books in Review

Books and People

FOR SEVERAL YEARS after The New Republic was founded in 1914, there was almost always an essay signed P. L. on the page immediately preceding the book section. The rule adopted by the editorial board, of which Philip Littell was one of the six original members, was that the essay should occupy a page, no less, no more. At first P. L. was troubled by this new restriction added to all the others he had voluntarily imposed on himself. Writing came hard for him, a fact that nobody but another writer could guess from the easy conversational tone of his prose. He smoked and thought, thought and smoked; it must have taken him a half-pound of tobacco to write the second of his pages on Henry James, the one in which he said—and how many people have copied the remark—that reading one of the more recondite stories "was like watching Henry James watching through a knothole somebody else who was watching somebody else through a knothole." The volume in which the two James essays appeared was dedicated to E. P. S.—initials standing, not for Emerson, Plato and Santayana, but for Edgeworth Plug Slice.

At first P. L. thought of inventing a pipe that would stay lighted for exactly a paragraph and a fountain pen holding just enough ink for 1,134 words, the length in those days of a New Republic page. After a time, however, writing an essay neither too short nor too long came to be a matter of following his acquired instincts. He would pick a subject, say what there was to be said about it, end with a quotation from Pascal—and when the manuscript was set in type it would fit the page to a line. But the printers after 1920 saw less and less of the handwriting that looked as if very small birds had marched across the paper in perfect alignment. P. L. was in such bad health that composition had become intolerably difficult; and finally he mailed in his resignation from Cornish, New Hampshire. His eldest son, Robert Littell, took his place on the staff, but nobody after that could write one-page essays.

The truth is that "Books and Things," as he called them —though a better title might have been "Books and People"—belonged to a type of writing that has almost disappeared from American literature, along with most of the audience that enjoyed it and the intellectual soil that nourished it. His essays were conversation pieces, and as such they presupposed the existence of a large and fairly homogeneous group used to good conversation. Dates are important here. Philip Littell was at Harvard from 1886 to 1890, during the same years as Robert Herrick, Norman Hapgood, Herbert Croly, Robert Morss Lovett, George Pierce Baker, George Rublee and William Vaughn Moody, though not all of these were friends or in the same college class. Santayana, who was a little older, used to drop in to their undergraduate dinners, and many of them retained something of his spoken style. Most of them were grandsons of the New England renaissance: Littell's grandfather, for example, was the Eliakim Littell who founded The Living Age. They had less of the creative drive than their predecessors, but more ability to appreciate the work of others; and they were the sort of talkers who could range from Plato to the sweet potato and back again from the bottle to Aristotle without once losing their balance or admiring their own feats. It seems to me that "Books and Things" is not only Philip Littell's quite personal writing but also the echo of conversation in a group that has few survivors. When he says, "England lived at her ease with Henry James; he lived with her in a sacred twitter"; or of Swinburne, "He never degraded Lust by treating it as mere Love"; or of President Wilson's speeches, "The adjective is still the enemy of the executive"—at such times you hear him talking, and in good company.

Last winter P. L. took no longer excursions than from the bedroom to the back parlor of his son-in-law's house on East Forty-ninth Street, but when he began to talk you forgot his physical weakness. It wasn't so much that he said brilliant things—though he did so often—as the gift he had of drawing brilliant remarks from others; even dull people left him feeling that they must be fascinating conversationalists; and indeed they were, when P. L. was drawing them out. I remember one day last spring when I made the not very original remark that we can all be judged by what we do when we are alone. It was Mrs. Littell, not a professional wit, who found the answer worthy of an Athenian philosopher: "That depends on whom you think you're not with." P. L. was leaving for Cornish the next day, with a nurse in attendance, and I thought as I said goodbye that I might not see him again. Or his like ever.

Among the spoils that will fall to our troops within the next few weeks or months is a poet able to speak Latin, classical Greek, French, Provençal, Italian and the double-talk of fascist propagandists. Nobody wants to capture Ezra Pound; but he has been indicted for treason and, in the course of time, he will doubtless be tried. Some of his friends have been writing to Attorney General Biddle, urging that his country "has an historic duty in understanding him"—whatever that means—and that as a poet he should be granted a pardon. One letter I have seen goes on to say, "You know, Sir, the lack of political wisdom amongst great poets of all time; no doubt the influence of Yeats, a bosom friend, had to do with the misleading of Pound; but as a character witness I can but protest the linking of his name whose deathless poetry was near to madness, with those others whose fault seems to be rational."

I don't in the least doubt the good intentions or patriotism of the people who are making these appeals. They won't interfere with the war or strengthen the fascist forces at home or prolong Axis resistance by so much as an hour. Pound himself didn't do that, in all his radio talks from Rome; he may have wished to be a dangerous traitor, but he was too incoherent to succeed. Nevertheless the people who are urging that he should be pardoned *as a poet* are scarcely helping the cause of poetry.

Where did they get the notion that the great poets of

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Chicago

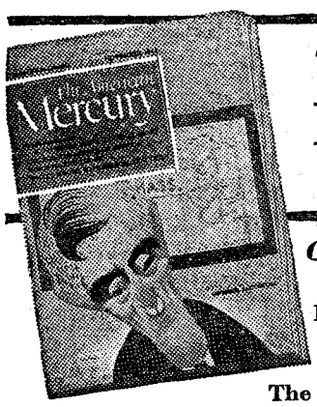
The MUNICH of America . . .

Chicago, most paradoxical of American big cities, has now become the national sore-head center, home of asorted hates . . . Here the people who hate Roosevelt, Russia, Britain, Jews—more than they hate Hitler—still carry on . . . The rabble rousers, and the relics of the Klan, the Bund, the Christian Front, the various Colored Shirt groups . . . who propagandize, solicit members, and in open meetings are addressed by Congressmen, Senators and other prominent "respectables."

This amazing story has been written by two Chicago newspaper men, who name names, mention meeting places . . . In the November issue of The American Mercury—and not to be missed!

The Camouflaged Communist Press

More dangerous than the Communist press is the press that pretends not to be but is—"The Camouflaged Communist Press." Frederick Woltman, who has specialized in exposing false-front Communist organizations, reveals the facts through a case study of one of the most cleverly disguised, "In Fact," which has won large readership as a courageous periodical among decent liberals and even conservatives who fail to recognize it for what it is.



The American
MERCURY
for November

Opinion that gets action!

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Lawrence E. Spivak
PUBLISHER

all time were completely lacking in political wisdom? Are they thinking of Virgil or Dante or Shakespeare or Milton or Goethe, or even of Yeats? I should like to have instances, with names and dates, to prove that any of these men should have been treated as children. To me they seem infinitely wiser, even as politicians, than Warren G. Harding or Herbert Hoover. And although they made many mistakes and some of them—including Yeats—ended in the wrong political camp, I never heard that one of them was afraid to accept responsibility for his actions.

Pound himself is not a wise man or a great poet either, for all the explorations in his early poems and all the brilliant passages in the later ones, like shining bits of glass in a bomb-shattered house. Since entering politics he has done not only foolish things but—in preaching hatred—other things that are objectively evil. They don't make me despise him enough to believe that he should be pardoned as a lunatic. I want to see Pound and all other poets keep their human dignity. If they have to be punished in order to keep it, then let them be punished—but no more severely than their acts merit. Pound's acts weren't very important or harmful to his country. After the war he might be freed as a man who has punished himself. But to pardon him simply as a poet seems to me an unpardonable affront to the art and profession of letters.

MALCOLM COWLEY

In the American Grain

Mainstream, by Hamilton Basso. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 246 pages. $2.50.

WHAT, THEN, IS AN AMERICAN? For more than a century and a half travelers, critics, essayists and historians have tried to answer this question. Of late it has been asked with increasing frequency, and by no accident. Of the many essays dealing with this question which the depression and the war have evoked, Hamilton Basso's takes high rank. Its method is original, its style engaging, its analysis sound and thoughtful. It is a book of and for the times. Clearly no one could have written it in the America of twenty years or even ten years ago. It reflects the current mood of crisis, of inquiry and criticism, of faith and doubt.

Mr. Basso, who acknowledges a special debt to Santayana's "Character and Opinion in the United States" and to the Beards' "Rise of American Civilization," has made good use of many other studies and of some first-hand materials. He approaches the subject with "a prejudice for the people" and with a bias against economic and individualistic determinism: multiple causation he takes for granted. To give concreteness and focus to his analysis he creates an American, John Applegate, who is so clearly in the mainstream that one recognizes him at once. Here and there John Applegate's ideas and values are compared or contrasted with those of his father, his grandfather and his children. It would have been desirable had these comparisons and contrasts been pushed further. As it is one has too much the feeling that the varied American traits taken into cognizance are all permanent traits, whereas many are permanent or rather long-ranged, and some are much more recent.

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The way in which John Applegate's ideas and values have come down in the mainstream of American thought is deftly suggested by a series of ten essays on actual American representatives of the varied traits that make the American what he is. The Americans Mr. Basso has selected seem to suit his purpose, though in some cases, perhaps, better examples might have been found. For the most part, too, scholars would find little to quarrel with in regard to the analysis of the figures chosen. In his treatment of Cotton Mather and the Puritans, Mr. Basso is perhaps furthest away from the main trend in recent scholarship. No one can help admiring the brilliance and penetration of the sketches which, in a genuine sense, are the heart of the book: John Smith, adventurer who got things started and who sets the pattern for the Anglo-Saxon Protestant conception of Americanism; Cotton Mather, the Puritan; Thomas Jefferson, the American as democrat; John Calhoun, the American as aristocrat; Abe Lincoln, the American as patron saint; Andrew Carnegie, the American as success story; Henry Adams, William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, Huey P. Long and Franklin D. Roosevelt, all representing well defined traits and trends. Some of these essays are as living and vivid as those of Gamaliel Bradford. Many may fairly be compared with those of Parrington. Mr. Basso suggests how all these Americans and what they have stood for have entered into the making of John Applegate. At some points one would like a more luminous and specific treatment of just how this process has taken place, for Mr. Basso is here the artist rather than the social scientist.

What makes John Applegate an American can be readily summarized. Unlike the European, he has no sense of fate or destiny. The depression has only slightly shaken his optimism. He reveres bigness, whether of buildings or fortunes. He admires those who take risks, who have the touch of adventure in their souls, and he distrusts the old when it no longer works and turns a hospitable face toward the new. He has been largely educated by advertising and by frontier traditions and mores: he is an individualist; he believes in, or at least cannot entirely disbelieve in, the American success story, and he has little liking for highbrows. Though his common sense often tells him people are not equal, that there is an elite, he retains the fundamentally American democratic faith in human worth and dignity. As a moral idealist with a strong materialistic slant, he puts high value on comfort and believes in the possibility and desirability of all men having an ever larger degree of it. He senses dimly at least that all his values and beliefs are now being tested in the great furnace the world has become.

It is clear that Mr. Basso attaches great importance to the frontier process in the shaping of those ideas and attitudes which he deems to be in the American mainstream. Puritanism and business enterprise similarly figure in the making of the American. No one can dispute the great influences of these forces, but there are others which Mr. Basso overlooks that were powerful, too. Science and the uses to which it has been put, urbanism, sectionalism and the never ending impact of Europe on America, and above all, immigration, can hardly be thought of as minor forces. It is at least open to question whether, from the point of view of modern culture as a whole, the increasing stream of significant contributions of Americans to learning, litera-

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ture and the arts can be dismissed lightly. No one can doubt the anti-intellectualism of the plain people, which Mr. Basso makes much of; but he may have done less than justice to the place of folk art, whether of the traditional sort or its modern equivalents, in the lives of the people.

But these, perhaps, are minor matters. In the broad outlines, in the sweep and in the beautiful economy of the work, above all in the thoughtful and judicious treatment of the main theme, this essay may well come to be regarded not only as a book of and for the times, but for tomorrow as well. One has to think at least three times before reading a book these days. "Mainstream" will certainly be for many people a delightful and valuable experience.

MERLE CURTI

The Spirit of Kossovo

My Native Land, by Louis Adamic. New York: Harper and Brothers. 507 pages. $3.75.

WHEN THE AMERICAN READER finishes Louis Adamic's "My Native Land" he will realize how difficult and complicated post-war problems will be not only in Yugoslavia but in the whole of Europe. Throughout Adamic's book Yugoslavia appears as a portent of the world of tomorrow. A revolutionary war confronted with moral, economic and social questions has made this country one of the most perplexing military and political problems of United Nations strategy.

Going deep into the historical background of the martyred land of the Southern Slavs, Mr. Adamic seeks the solution to the Yugoslav nightmare. Astonished at the enormous complexity of this spiritual and national drama, he asks himself anxiously, as many of his American readers will do: "What's the matter with those crazy Yugoslavs anyhow? Why are they always fighting among themselves? Balkanites!"

The answer is not of course simple, but it is not impossible to discover. The land of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is at the crossroads of the European Western world and the Eastern world, where Asia starts. The Roman empire was divided in the middle of this land. Rome and Byzantium fought one another at the moral and political expense of the Southern Slavs. Because of their geographical position they became separated not only politically but religiously. The Serbs and Bulgars accepted the Greek Orthodox Church, while the Croats and the Slovenes became Roman Catholics. At that time the acceptance of a religion had deeper implications than a simple act of faith. It was at once a philosophical and political *forma mentis* which dominated the whole life of a nation.

The Serbs built their state upon an absolute union between the King, the Church and the military class. The Croats and later the Slovenes entered into the whole medieval, feudal Western European world where since the beginning the tendency has been to separate the temporal power from the spiritual. That explains why the Serbs cannot easily accept federalism as a political philosophy, why they are always striving for the centralization of the state.

The medieval Balkan states were overthrown by the Turkish invasion of Southeastern Europe. The Turkish domination still further separated the Serbs from the Croats, the latter remaining under the Austro-Hungarian sphere of influence. Until the twentieth century the land of the South Slavs was shared between the Austro-Hungarian and the Turkish empires.

The conflict with the Asiatic Turks created a national philosophy among the South Slavs known as the spirit of Kossovo. The plain of Kossovo (plain of the blackbirds) had been the scene of an epic battle in 1389, when the Serbs with some Croats and Slovenes fought to stop the Turkish invasion of Europe. They were beaten and Serbdom was exterminated. The national poetry (*pijesma*) sung in Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Montenegro, conveyed through the centuries this way of life, this "spirit of Kossovo." Unlike the Nazi *Weltanschauung*, "Kossovo" is not a form of national suicide, but a sacrifice by a nation for its resurrection through resistance and death.

All the South Slavs accepted this philosophy and applied it to their different historical positions. In Croatia, for instance, the struggle was more as in Western Europe, on a political and social plan. Matija Gubets, the Croatian peasant who led a sixteenth-century revolution against the landowners, is an exciting precursor of the present Partisan resistance. Dalmatia's intellectual independence of Venice and her great Croatian literature are miracles of national individuality.

Between the two world wars of the present century Yugoslavia was paralyzed by internal difficulties. The Serbian conception of a centralized state was imposed upon it by Belgrade's two hundred families, the *charshya*. The Croats fought from the beginning with their leader Stjepan Radich for a federalized democratic Yugoslavia. They

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were sometimes helped by Serbs from Croatia and by some Slovenes. The only man in Serbia with a federalistic program was Stoyan Protich, who was fatefully abandoned by the ruling class. The Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian peasant masses wished only to understand one another. But Yugoslavia, like Italy during the Risorgimento, was the construction of an intelligentsia which, with the exception of the Croatian peasant movement and some Yugoslav democratic and agrarian parties, never took the great masses into consideration.

Yugoslavia never had a Cavour. The Serbian Pachiches and Jovanoviches were not Cavours but merely Giolittis. Some unrecognized Mazzinis like Radich and Pribichevich either were killed or died in exile. The unification of Yugoslavia was handicapped by her totalitarian neighbors, Germany and Italy, and their satellites, Bulgaria and Hungary, who did not want a strong Yugoslavia. The Serbo-Croatian agreement (*sporazum*) of 1939 concluded between the Croatian people and the Crown, as the representative of Serbia, was the first concession to the Croatian people after twenty years of struggle, a step toward federalism. But it was too late, although the indomitable Croatian peasant party leader, Dr. Vladimir Macek, in the very moment of danger, decided to coöperate with Belgrade and so reinforce Yugoslavia.

The military collapse of Yugoslavia, however, did not pulverize her soul, imbued with the spirit of Kossovo. Germany and Italy tried to divide the Serbs from the Croats. Their techniques of dividing the people and of depopulation were applied thoroughly. The domestic puppets, Pavelich and Nedich, aided them.

Mihailovich started the resistance in the old Serbian tradition. His National Serbian Political Committee, with the Serbian clique in the Yugoslav cabinet in London, some young exiled officers and some old diplomatic appeasers, made him a general and war minister. The revolutionary soldier became a legitimist and the servant of a clique. His ultra-nationalist Chetniks did work similar to that of General Nedich's soldiers, Pavelich's Ustachis and the Italian and German occupation forces. They wanted to stop the fresh and genuine forces which had blossomed as the red flowers of Kossovo. It was a new revolt of the masses: Serb, Croat, Slovene, Catholic, Orthodox, Moslem, Jew.

Russia had been attacked. The South Slav masses considered it was their duty to rise and fight. In that moment they united. A Communist minority started large-scale resistance under the leadership of the Croatian Tito, or Josip Broz. They proposed to Mihailovich that they fight together. He refused. They asked the government-in-exile to mediate, but those old men of the government did not understand the global character of this new war.

Mihailovich and members of the government-in-exile stigmatized the Partisans as "Communists," as the Nazis and Fascists were doing. A letter which we received from Yugoslavia says: "You speak in your broadcasts of Mihailovich, and our men are killed by the Chetniks." The military cabinet in London falsified the news of the Partisans' resistance and attributed it to Mihailovich. They made of him an exclusive and narrow pan-Serbian.

In Croatia and Slovenia, the National Liberation Army and the Partisan detachments have been the only military strength since the end of 1941. For three years 100,000 men and women resisted fifteen Axis divisions. An area the size of Switzerland was liberated. Elections were proclaimed, schools opened, congresses of youth, of Catholics, of Orthodox, of women, met. The best of the old and young intelligentsia is there. All those who did not want to stay in "the shame" of towns, as the old poet Vladimir Nazor said, went to the mountains. In September of this year they opened the gateway to the Balkans for the Allied forces now on the other side of the Adriatic. They liberated nearly all of Dalmatia. They held the largest town, Split, for eighteen days.

But the Allies couldn't or wouldn't help. Allied strategy does not like diversion. It has its fixed schedules. Some even raised the question of the legality of Tito's Partisans, for they are not recognized by the Yugoslav government-in-exile, as is Mihailovich. Others were afraid of the Communist label, wrongly put on them. Is it possible that if a Communist fought the Nazi-Fascist invaders he has no right to be helped by the Allies?

Mr. Adamic then brings us to the greatest problem that the United Nations have to solve. The National Liberation Front in Yugoslavia has proclaimed the rebirth of a demo-

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cratic and federalized Yugoslavia in a free world. For the first time, after a thousand years of terrific struggle, the Yugoslavs are approaching liberation through political and national unity. They are moved by Russia's struggle. They believe in the Bill of Rights of the Anglo-Saxon world, particularly in America's, as the first American newspaperman to arrive among them, Daniel De Luce, was told. What solution will the Allies offer these people? On this depends not only the future of the Balkans but also of the other United Nations.

The dead legitimacies cannot be revived. Darlanism, which some Serbian chauvinists are preparing through compromised old generals like the puppet Nedich in Belgrade, will be more dangerous for the Allied political victory than for the Yugoslav people who have already chosen.

Using the opportunity of a revolutionary war, the Yugoslav masses are building from bottom to top a democratic world in the Balkans. The Anglo-American world has a vital interest to associate itself with Russia in this constructive work. If Mr. Adamic's book serves this purpose it will be of the greatest importance. BOGDAN RADITSA

A Reader's List

AMBULANCE IN AFRICA, by Evan Thomas (Appleton-Century, $2). A brief, fresh personal record of volunteer ambulance service in the Middle East. The author, son of Norman Thomas, was with Britain's Eighth Army through its last retreat into Egypt and the turning of the tide at El Alamein. His battle reactions are interesting, partly as they typify any intelligent American college boy's, partly as they show his personal swing from anti-British isolationism to sympathetic respect for the "Tommy" and even his "old school tie" officers. Not an over-all strategic picture, but a readable account of a crucial action of World War II, from the limited but vivid view of a participant.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF POPULATION IN EUROPE, by Eugene M. Kulischer (International Labour Office, $1.50). Not counting the members of Axis armies, or evacuees from air-bombed areas, *more than 30,000,000 Europeans* have been uprooted in some manner, for one purpose or another, since the beginning of the war. Thirty millions. The Nazi policy of population movement is based upon an opportunistic amalgam of two principles: (1) racism, with its economic base of continental imperialism; and, (2) the raw labor needs of a rapacious war economy. One out of every four workers in Germany today is a foreigner. If America was a melting-pot, Europe has become a mixing-bowl—and the mixture is TNT. The author stresses the imperative necessity of international collaboration in any adequate solution of the problem, and he adds: "this collaboration will have to deal with movements of men as well as with movements of capital and goods."

OUR YOUNG FOLKS, by Dorothy Canfield Fisher (Harcourt, Brace, $2.75). Mrs. Fisher's latest book, a non-fictional work addressed to the general reader, rekindles the smoldering youth problem. Throughout these discursive pages runs a plea that we avoid using the war as a *deus-ex-machina* solution and wake up to the glaring educational deficiencies of the twentieth-century world. The need for varied and specialized training plus actual work experience must become part of our basic educational equipment. In addition, we must recognize the changed character of leisure time which has become the last refuge for individual creative effort.

Contributors

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RALPH BATES's latest book is "The Undiscoverables." He served as a brigade commissar with the Loyalists in the Spanish civil war.

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JUSTITIA is the nom de plume of a well known New York attorney.

MERLE CURTI's latest book is "The Growth of American Thought," published last month by Harper and Brothers.

BOGDAN RADITSA, a native Yugoslavian, is the author of "Conversations with Guglielmo Ferrero" and "The Agony of Europe."

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The author of this book was an Associate Professor of Economics at a large state university and is now an economist with a Government War Agency. He writes under a pen name.
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